

University of Tartu



STUDIES IN FOLKLORE AND POPULAR RELIGION

Volume 1



Tartu 1996

STUDIES IN FOLKLORE AND
POPULAR RELIGION

Tartu Ülikooli eesti ja võrdleva rahvaluule
õppetooli toimetised

TÖID FOLKLOORI JA RAHVAUSUNDI ALALT

I

Sümposiumi *Walter Anderson ja tänapäeva*
folkloristika materjalid

Toimetanud Ülo Valk

Tartu 1996

Publications of the Department of Estonian and
Comparative Folklore, University of Tartu

STUDIES IN FOLKLORE AND POPULAR
RELIGION

Volume 1

Papers Delivered at the Symposium
Walter Anderson and Folklore Studies Today

Edited by Ülo Valk

Tartu 1996

Studies in Folklore and Popular Religion

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Edited by Ülo Valk

Language editors: Ülle Männart (English)
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Page layout: Risto Järv
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Supported by: *Estonian Ministry of Education*
Estonian Science Foundation
Nordic Institute of Folklore (NIF)

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Printed by *AS Tartumaa*

ISBN 9985-60-271-4

ISSN 1406-1090



Walter Anderson

1885-1962

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Preface

On October 6-8, 1995 folklorists from eight countries gathered in Tartu to celebrate the 110th anniversary of Walter Anderson. This distinguished scholar worked as the Professor of Estonian and Comparative Folklore at the University of Tartu from 1920 to 1939. Although the centennial of his birth was celebrated in Estonia it was impossible to organise international symposiums in Tartu at the time because the university town was closed to "non-Soviet citizens" for military reasons. Two years after Estonia had regained her independence in 1991 the department of folklore was reopened at the University of Tartu.

The symposium *Walter Anderson and Folklore Studies Today* was the first international meeting organised by the Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore. Its aim was not only to commemorate the work of the great scholar but also to focus on the different approaches to the study of folklore that dominate in the field today. The symposium was held with the hope to introduce the University of Tartu as a new and developing centre of folkloristics, open to international co-operation.

The present volume contains the lectures delivered at the symposium and articles written on the basis of them. The papers are published in the same sequence as they were presented. The last three contributions are written by scholars who could not participate in the symposium.

The range of topics covered in this book is wide. It includes papers on various aspects of folktales and mythology and on the history of folkloristics; there are discussions of recent fieldwork materials from Africa, Estonia, India, Karelia and Siberia, attitudes towards modern technology as reflected in folklore and of the relationship between literature and folk traditions; the reader is offered an interpretation of

sailors' autobiographies and a folkloristic outlook on the relations between different nationalities. There is also a group of papers addressing the issues of research in popular religion. As this has become one of the major fields of folkloristic studies at the University of Tartu today, the title of this series – the cornerstone of which the present volume attempts to be – reflects the department's continuing bias towards this area of research.

I wish to express my gratitude to everybody who made their way to Tartu to deliver a paper at the symposium which by now has become part of the history of folkloristics at the University of Tartu. This meeting would not have been possible without the valuable support of the Open Estonia Foundation, the Institute of German Culture in Tartu and the *Postimees* Foundation. I am grateful to everybody who contributed to this volume and my colleagues who helped me to compile this book. I am indebted to Ms. Ülle Männart for her immense work as the language editor and translator. It is thanks to her that I am confident to present this book to the international reader. I am also grateful to Ms. Kai Vassiljeva for her help as a translator. My special thanks also to Ms. Ulrike Plath from Hamburg for her assistance in revising the articles in German. Ms. Tea Vassiljeva handled the technical aspects, helped with proofreading and supported me in the completion of this publication with her cheerful optimism. Mr. Risto Järv shared this arduous task with her. He was of great help in preparing the book for publication. Mr. Sander Vesik and Mr. Ergo Västriik gave valuable technical advice. I am thankful to them all.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Reimund Kvideland, Director of the Nordic Institute of Folklore, for encouraging me to prepare the papers for publication and for providing financial support.

Tartu,

Ülo Valk

November 1996

The Great Crusader of Diffusionism.

Walter Anderson and the Geographic-Historical Method *

Michael Chesnutt (Copenhagen)

The great folklorist whose memory we are honouring in the university city where he spent certainly the happiest, and probably the two most productive, decades of his life is perceived by most students nowadays as a Baltic German adherent of scholarly precepts laid down by the Finns. We should, however, remember that Walter Anderson's background was East rather than West European: born in Minsk of German parents, he spent most of his formative years in Kazan, where his first monographs were published before the Soviet Revolution. Everyone knows that Anderson wrote the standard treatment of *Kaiser und Abt* in FF Communications, but fewer people know that the first section of this book is a mere abbreviation of a large volume printed in Russian as early as 1915, and that the author's debut as a folktale scholar dealt not with a West European humorous anecdote but with a Slavic wondertale, the story of *The Czar's Dog*.

In his obituary in *Fabula* (1962) Professor Kurt Ranke drew attention to the breadth of Walter Anderson's interests, which ranged from numismatics to the classic folktale and from the classic folktale to contemporary folklore forms like the urban legend and the chain letter. Anderson will nevertheless remain – and would undoubtedly have

**Author's Note.* This opening lecture at the symposium was adapted from a much larger, as yet unpublished, work on the historical dimension in folktale studies. The text is printed here as it was read in Tartu, with the marks of oral delivery remaining and without systematic bibliographical annotation. The principal works referred to or quoted are, however, listed at the end.

wished to remain – in our collective consciousness as the single-minded programmatic exponent of the geographic-historical method, for which he gave detailed working instructions in an article in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens*, and which he defended against polemical attack in his essay *Zu Albert Wesselski's Angriffen auf die finnische folkloristische Forschungsmethode*, published in this very place in 1935 as a fascicle of the *Acta et Commentationes* of Tartu University. I therefore intend to celebrate Anderson's scholarship by discussing the strengths, weaknesses, and above all the context in the history of scholarly ideas of the method that he made his own.

1.

In 1887 Kaarle Krohn published as his doctoral dissertation in Helsinki a study of Finnish folktales on the theme of how the cunning animal outwits the stronger. This monograph is the first in the history of folkloristics to attempt an exhaustive inventory of recorded variants of the tales in question, and it is also the first systematic demonstration of the geographic-historical method. It tried to prove that the corpus of European animal tales can be divided into two groups: a southern group originating in India and transmitted via Greece to the Low Countries and France, and an indigenous northern group best preserved in Finnish oral tradition. These conclusions show on one hand the influence of the Indianist school of Theodor Benfey, and on the other hand a refusal to accept the dogma of that school according to which all folk narrative tradition originated in India (or, in the case of the animal fables, in Greece).

Krohn's ideas derived in the first instance from his father, Julius Krohn. But the tendency represented by the Krohns, father and son, can be traced back to the turn of the eighteenth century, when Finns such as Porthan and Topelius had entertained the idea that the folk traditions of their nation did not necessarily originate in those places where they were now found. As I understand it, Finnish learned opinion took another direction in the first half of the nineteenth century, developing along much the same lines as the Aryan theory of the Brothers Grimm: resemblances between the *Kalevala* poetry and the folk traditions of Asia were now explained as an inheritance from the com-

mon past of the Ural-Altaic peoples, a point of view adopted by such influential figures as the orientalist and Finno-Ugrist Castrén. However, in 1873 the alternative explanation of migration was emphatically revived by Borenius, the so-called "founder of modern Finnish folklore research," who argued that the traditional *Kalevala* metric songs had arisen not in Russian Karelia but in Finland itself, whence they must have migrated in a north-easterly direction.

It is reasonable to suppose that Borenius had become aware of the work of Theodor Benfey, either directly or through its impact on the scholarship of neighbouring Russia in the 1860s. A hypothesis of oriental origins for the *byliny* had caused violent controversy when set forth by the Russian scholar Stasov in 1868; but by the year of publication of Borenius' article even Max Müller, doyen of the mythological school in folklore, had conceded the relevance of migration, and in the following year his Russian disciple Buslayev followed suit. At all events, Borenius inspired Julius Krohn to undertake his systematic study of the *Kalevala* tradition, the results of which appeared in 1885. In this work the polygenetic theory of the British and German anthropologists is explicitly rejected. I quote here from an English translation of Julius Krohn's words in the history of Finnish folklore scholarship by Jouko Hautala:

With wonder [---] we have noted that most of the material of the *Kalevala* has also been familiar to peoples other than the Finns. Now, unavoidably, the question poses itself: what must we conclude from this? People's imagination, so some argue, is of the same kind everywhere [---]; it follows from this [---] that the myths and songs of different nations generally form themselves in the same way. Others again want to explain the similarities occurring in these myths and songs as being loans. The first supposition [---] is valid only in regard to the simplest formations of the myths [---]. [W]hen we move forward to the more highly developed myths, in which there appear entire, complicated narratives [---], then, to my mind, a more complete similarity arising in an independent manner conflicts with all psychological possibility [---]. According to my conviction, the material of the *Kalevala* has to a great extent come to us from neighbouring peoples.

As to the process whereby the *Kalevala* poems had developed over time, Julius Krohn perceived a tendency for the variants to undergo successive changes as the tradition spread from one locality to the next, or as Hautala explains it:

The great observation made by Julius Krohn [---] was [---] that the variants of the same poems in certain localities and regions resembled each other more than other variants in other localities and regions, and the differences became greater the further these regions were from each other, so that different local redactions are often dependent on each other in geographical order, forming a series in which the first one is the premise for the second one, the third one presupposes the second one, and so on. He deduced that the local differences depended on the wandering of the poems from one region to another, changing more and more on the way the further they went from the point of departure.

The principle of textual evolution following the topographical order of diffusion justified Julius Krohn in calling his method of analysis "local-historical," a term that Kaarle Krohn altered to "geographic-historical" when he wrote the foreword to his dissertation, in which he declared the method as developed by his father to be "in general the only right road to take in all research in folklore." This terminological adjustment was obviously felt to be called for because of the wider international perspective of Kaarle Krohn's folktale studies, just as the historical dimension necessarily loomed larger in a work touching on the fables of Aesop and the medieval beast epic than it had done in Julius Krohn's examination of songs recovered directly from oral tradition. Nevertheless, the objective was in both cases genuinely historical: both father and son laboured to deduce the older forms that had given rise to existing variants, whether these had been identified in literary sources or derived from fieldwork among living informants.

The procedure developed by the Krohns involved an exhaustive inventory of variants, an analysis of the story into its constituent episodes, and a scrutiny of the variations occurring in each episode with a view to discovering which were primary and which secondary. Apart from the axiom of geographical spread, there was nothing in this that departed from the principles of historical linguistics and textual criti-

cism, and it is therefore not surprising that Archer Taylor was able to show how other scholars preceding and contemporary with the Krohns had followed comparable procedures. Taylor conceded, however, that Finland was justified in claiming ownership of the method in its fully codified form, and it is certain that the circumstances in Finland were particularly favourable to an intensive study of oral narrative.

2.

Something that was not at first explicit in the Finnish approach, but soon became so, was its emphasis on the testimony of oral variants almost to the exclusion of older, written records. The reasons for this may be circumstantial. The comparison of oral variants with Lönnrot's *Kalevala* had revealed that the text of the national epic was not fully authentic. Kaarle Krohn's admirer, the Hungarian ethnologist Bertalan Korompay, suggested that it was this realisation that made some Finnish folklorists downright suspicious of literary variants (the following is my paraphrase of Korompay's German):

Printed folk literature appeared more and more unreliable to Finnish researchers after the appearance of the *Kalevala*, which from the scholarly point of view seemed to do more harm than good. [---] All book variants were therefore excluded from a comparative study at the very outset, and researchers habitually assured themselves that literary versions [---] were not only *a priori* inauthentic and corrupt as compared with the folk variants, but frequently also represented a later stage of development than the latter.

It was the last point that most surprised conventional philologists of the time. The dissertation of Kaarle Krohn's pupil, Oskar Hackman, made it without equivocation and in a context bound to attract wide public attention, for here the conclusion was reached that Homer's version of the tale of Polyphemus was secondary to a form implied in modern oral tradition. In the subsequent studies of the geographic-historical school, especially those of Antti Aarne, this theoretical and actual possibility was dogmatized in an unfortunate manner, to the extent that literary versions of a tale were reviewed separately from

the oral variants and assigned only a subsidiary role in the construction of historical and geographical pedigrees. Taylor justly reproached Krohn and Aarne that their distinction between literary and oral evidence was artificial, and that the former may lend itself to more reliable cultural and historical interpretation than the latter:

A "literary" variant is capable of more definite interpretation and evaluation than a version from the folk. A tale in Boccaccio's *Decameron* has been subjected to more or less readily definable cultural influences which can be taken into account, while a tale from the folk must be accepted for what it is worth without much attempt at evaluation. In general, we can recognize the effects of certain cultural influences and of literary adaptation in the literary tale, while we cannot readily see them in the folktale. Of course the distinction is relative, and unfortunately the emphasis in theory and practice has rested a little too strongly on the special treatment of "literary" variants.

Korompay adds the consideration that literary evidence offers a point of orientation in the boundless diversity of oral variants:

[---] literary versions can be of great age and, whatever other peculiarities they may display, they do provide us with some chronological and formal terms of reference when confronted with the well-nigh boundless variety of the oral folklore records.

With these utterances we may compare the inspired metaphor of Jan de Vries in his neglected book *Betrachtungen zum Märchen*, where he likens literary variants to "lookout posts in the flat landscape of tradition." Contrary to the polemic generalisations of Albert Wesselski, Walter Anderson was if anything even more convinced than de Vries of the importance of literary variants for historical reconstruction; I shall return to his position on this issue toward the end of my presentation.

3.

I want now to give some further consideration to the intellectual context of the Finnish method and its application in the first half of the twentieth century. We have already noted that Julius Krohn took a conscious stand against polygenesis, and that Kaarle Krohn refused to accept the Benfeyite theory of Indian origins of all folktale tradition (though he reverted, as has often been remarked, to a striking extent to the Indianist position in a survey of geographic-historical scholarship published toward the end of his life). What has not apparently been clarified is the extent to which the Krohns were influenced by the diffusionist theory in contemporary anthropology. Giuseppe Cocchiara takes it for granted that the concept of linear or contiguous migration of tradition was adequately prepared through Julius Krohn's reception of the procedures of Svend Grundtvig in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, combined with what he calls "the binomial of *Land und Leute*" as formulated by W. H. Riehl. It seems quite unlikely that Julius Krohn was not also influenced by the *Anthropogeographie* of Friedrich Ratzel, which began to appear in 1882 while Krohn was completing his volume on the *Kalevala*. Ratzel, as is well known, opposed the idea of polygenesis of cultural phenomena as Adolph Bastian had expressed it, substituting diffusion as the primary explanation of observed similarities and even venturing to state that the fundamental theory of world history is the history of migration. Theories of migration and borrowing became a major fashion in international historically oriented cultural anthropology by the turn of the century, being brought to the United States through the mediation of Franz Boas at Columbia University, while in Germany Fritz Graebner built further on the edifice of Ratzel to produce the *Kulturkreislehre* promulgated in his *Methode der Ethnologie* (1911). The latter set up more stringent criteria for the deduction of cultural migration than had been previously applied: these were the criteria of form, quantity, and geographical proximity. The criteria manifestly correspond to certain essential principles of the Finnish folkloristic method; and the same is true of the Age-Area concept that grew out of the *Kulturkreislehre* in America and is particularly associated with the names of Edward Sapir and Clark Wissler.

Kaarle Krohn published a sequel to his folktale dissertation in Finn-

ish in 1889 and in German translation in 1891. The introduction to this sequel gives a concise and excellent presentation of the geographic-historical method. Krohn's diffusionist credo is well articulated in a passage that also serves as a categorical denial of the inheritance theory: experience has shown, he writes, that similarity between folktales has very little to do with the descent of peoples from the same ancestors, but everything to do with geographical proximity and culture contact, even in cases where the linguistic barrier is very great. In exemplifying such culture contact folkloristics had as large a role to play in cultural history as in the psychology of nations. This must have been read at the time as a rebuke to German *Volkskundler* like Karl Weinhold, who were emphasizing the supposed uniqueness of national characters. I am sure it also influenced the thinking of the young Anderson, who was a citizen of the world through circumstance of birth and a novice in folklore studies at the beginning of this century.

The mobility of traditions across national, cultural, and linguistic boundaries was problematized by C. W. von Sydow in his theoretical writings from the late 1920s onwards, notwithstanding that his own comparative work implied just such mobility. This is without doubt an instance of special pleading by the Swedish scholar in conflict with ethnographically established fact, as two examples that must have been known to him will suffice to show. In 1893 the French philologist Joseph Bédier published a book entitled *Les fabliaux* in which he polemicized against the theory of oriental origins of popular jest themes in medieval French literature, arguing among other things that it is impossible to reconstruct the routes by which folklore has spread because of the arbitrary gaps that must always exist in our knowledge of actual distribution. Contradicting the axiom of linear migration laid down by Julius Krohn, Bédier emphasized that transference of tradition might well take place by leaps and bounds as a result of the unpredictable movements of travellers. He illustrated his point with an autobiographical example that I shall just summarize here:

In the month of October 1887, Bédier heard an old planter from Mauritius telling yarns on board ship. One of the stories was identical with a medieval French *fabliau*, but the old man had no idea where he had learnt it. Apart from Bédier, the audience included a merchant from Sydney in Australia. The next day the story was repeated to some of the ship's crew, most of whom were Basques and Corsicans, though

the most appreciative listener was an Arab who had just come up from the engine room:

One might say that on this very day the tale passed [---] to the Basque country, Corsica, Australia, and Arabia (*On peut dire que, ce jour là, ce conte avait passé [---] au pays Basque, à la Corse, à l'Australie, à l'Arabie*).

What Bédier is saying here is that, far from being restricted as von Sydow was later to proclaim, the ability of folklore to travel was – or had become – so great that it actually prohibited the mapping out of itineraries of diffusion.

Another telling example of the transgression of boundaries – this time without the help of a *lingua franca* – was adduced by the Dane H. F. Feilberg (with whom von Sydow studied as a young man) in a paper published the year after Bédier's book. Though the example was also mentioned by Bédier, Feilberg knew it not from the Frenchman's treatise but from a preface written by the Norwegian folklorist Moltke Moe for a collection of Lappish tales printed in 1887. The case was originally reported by Elias Lönnrot in 1855, and concerns a Finnish storyteller who exchanged repertoire with Russians and Norwegians when working as a fisherman on the White Sea. Interrogated by Lönnrot about the sources of his large repertoire, this informant said that he could pick up the outlines of a story in another language without difficulty and retell it with his own additions when he got home ("*ich erriet] den allgemeinen Inhalt aller Märchen, die ich nachmals mit selbsterfundenen Zusätzen daheim wiedererzählte*"). Friedrich Ranke remarked with explicit reference to this example that von Sydow had painted a picture of linguistic obstacles to diffusion that was not universally valid, and that this in itself rendered his ecotype theory less of a compelling necessity than it might otherwise appear.

4.

All the Finno-Ugric scholars present here will know that Kaarle Krohn invested most of his energies after 1890 in the study of folk poetry, completing his deceased father's projects and turning his attention to incantations and lyric poetry as well as the *Kalevala* cycle. In his

discussions of chronology he inclined more and more to the view that Finnish folk epic was a product of the later Middle Ages, an opinion that harmonized with the work of his colleague Axel Olrik on the Danish ballads. In Finnish folktale research a similar tendency to look for medieval origins is discernible, but this was not so much a product of the activities of Krohn, who was fully occupied with other topics, as of those of Antti Aarne, who took up the special study of the prose tale where Krohn had left off and published a large body of tale monographs beginning with his doctoral dissertation *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen* from 1910. This work is a treatment of three tales of magic objects (AT 560; 566; 567), two of which are traced back to India while the third (AT 566, *Fortunatus*) is held to have originated in Western Europe in the Middle Ages.

Antti Aarne's monographic work has been evaluated very differently by successive generations of scholars. Some have admired the scientific stringency of his variant analyses, while others have found them mechanistic and without interest for modern folkloristics. What no one can dispute is the significance of his contribution to the systematic comparative study of tales through his *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* of 1910, a system that he personally applied to Finnish and Estonian texts in catalogues issued in 1911 and 1918 respectively. Aarne's type list was of an undisguisedly experimental character, being based on the compiler's detailed knowledge of tales represented in the Finnish archives, supplemented by the German repertoire of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* and by the typology of Danish tales devised by Svend Grundtvig; the latter had been institutionalized as a cataloguing system when the Danish Folklore Archives were founded in 1904-05, and a printed description of it appeared in the same year as the *Verzeichnis*.

Aarne's type list, later revised and expanded by Stith Thompson, made it possible for uniform cataloguing to be done on an international level, and this cataloguing opened up the possibility of really wide-ranging geographic-historical tale studies. It will be remembered that Krohn wished generalizations about the folktale as a genre to await the appearance of a broad sample of individual monographs. Not many years were to elapse, however, before the methodological basis of his whole project came under attack. Of the first eighty numbers in FF Communications published up to and including the year 1928, more than twenty-five are type catalogues and monographs, and by no means

all the products of Krohn's school appeared in the Finnish series. Folkloristics accordingly seemed to be making fair progress toward the achievement of Krohn's strategic aim; but in 1928 Vladimir Propp published his *Morphology of the Folktale*, which contains the first of a series of Soviet Russian criticisms of the geographic-historical method. In particular, the Russians called in question the concept of the stable tale type, asserting that motifs and episodes clustered together in unpredictable kaleidoscopic freedom in the living tradition. This, if true, would of course undermine the monogenetic explanation of the origin of narratives and invalidate the application of analytical techniques derived from conventional textual criticism: the logical arrangement of variants, whether geographically in the spirit of Julius Krohn or in terms of an evolutionary (or, for that matter, devolutionary) hierarchy of textual relationships, is meaningless if no archetype has ever existed.

I do not know whether Walter Anderson ever replied to the Russian criticism of the Finnish method; he probably felt a strong ideological aversion to Soviet scholarship in any case, and could console himself with the thought that monographic work had been and continued to be done in the USSR by his successive pupils N. P. Andreyev and Isidor Levin. In the West, the Russian arguments received belated but extensive publicity in the wake of the translation of Propp into English in 1958. The American Christine Goldberg responded to this discussion as recently as 1984 in the *Journal of Folklore Research*, where she reminds us that the stability of types is greater in some places than others, and that not all of the Aarne-Thompson type definitions have equal validity. This, however, can surprise no one who is aware of the uneven quality of the sources from which the type catalogue was compiled, and the correction of empirical mistakes can always be achieved over a period of time – the important thing is to make people understand that *The Types of the Folktale* is an aid to comparative tale studies, not a codification of their final result. That was Anderson's basic motive for writing – to name only one example – an Aarne-Thompson concordance to Eberhard and Boratav's catalogue of Turkish tales, which is organized on principles obscuring the presence of international material in the tradition.

Even where the objective existence of a given type is not seriously questioned, detailed studies will often lead to a more nuanced separation of redactions or subtypes than was possible for Thompson in his

second revision of the type list from 1961, much less for Aarne in his first draft from 1910. Several scholars have in fact offered this kind of improvement to the system without reproaching their predecessors for not having achieved the impossible: for example, Kurt Ranke in his catalogue of tales from Schleswig-Holstein has subdivided several AT numbers in a way that corresponds better to the regional data, and I myself have revised the definition of AT 750 A-B after a closer scrutiny of the ancient literary versions.

5.

Mention of such old literary material – stretching in the case dealt with by me from the mythological poetry of Ovid to medieval saints' lives, and on into the humorous vernacular writings of the German Renaissance – brings us back to the other main bone of contention as regards the Finnish folklore method, namely its ambivalent attitude to literary variants. The great war on this issue was waged between Anderson and Wesselski in the 1930s, with Wesselski arguing in the spirit of Hoffmann-Krayer and Naumann that folk narrative was all *gesunkenes Kulturgut* anyway, and that there could be no significant transmission of tales over time and space without the intervention of literature. That is to take too ethnocentric a view of things, for the tales of the North American Indians and the *Kalevala* metric songs of Outer Karelia have certainly diffused independently of written texts, and Anderson with his insider's knowledge of Russia was able to give further examples. Wesselski's view is, on the other hand, probably a realistic generalization about the folktale tradition of North-West Europe in the period accessible to us through historical texts and fieldwork.

I should like for my part to emphasize that the acceptance of an ongoing interaction between written and oral forms actually makes it easier to work out credible explanations for the historical spread of our material. The Finnish method has often been criticized for the vagueness of the results achieved – as one scholar has put it, a tale could at best be located somewhere in the ancient Near East or the European Middle Ages. The truth is that the most convincing life histories of tales have been those that are sufficiently documented from earlier periods. Walter Anderson knew this and made no secret of it: he persuades us

of the oriental origin of *Kaiser und Abt* and the French origin of *Der alte Hildebrand*, but does so without much help from those minute analyses of oral variants that he also insisted upon. The latter could bring us no nearer to the archetype than the "normal form" of a tale during the period of intensive collection in the nineteenth century; in fact, if no literary variants of older date were available, a tale could simply not be traced to its origins. This is stated absolutely without reservation in Anderson's book on *Kaiser und Abt*, where we read (my emphases in italics, Anderson's in bold-face type):

Wenn ich [---] in meiner Untersuchung *nur* die Varianten des XIX. und XX. Jahrhunderts berücksichtigt hätte, so wäre ich ohne Zweifel in mehreren Punkten irregeführt worden: ich hätte [---] statt der Urform nur die **Normalform des XIX. Jahrhunderts** erhalten. Die Möglichkeit solcher Irrtümer ist die **Hauptgefahr** bei der Anwendung der finnischen vergleichenden Methode; davor schützen kann fast nur die *Heranziehung einer genügenden Anzahl alter literarischer Varianten, welche sich aber durchaus nicht immer beschaffen lässt.* (1923: 404)

In other words, Anderson believed that in historical folk narrative studies we should not merely "leap from hilltop to hilltop" (to embroider on the metaphor later employed by Jan de Vries), but neither by any means refrain from navigating with the help of such literary beacons as are visible to us.

6.

It is frequently said today that geographic-historical studies are *passé* because of the shift of paradigm in folkloristics. That shift of paradigm is largely a matter of the functionalist approach taken over from American folklorists and anthropologists, and I do not hesitate to name William Bascom's *Four Functions of Folklore* from 1954 as the seminal publication in this connection. I also think that Professor Lauri Honko of Turku was very precise in his diagnosis of the change of orientation that followed on the functionalist explosion in Western folkloristics in the sixties: at a conference in Finland in 1980 Honko said that the new focus on the user of tradition called for close-range field observation,

and that the consequent change in scholarly practice was synonymous with "the victory of regionalism." Some would say provincialism, for any humanistic discipline that deliberately narrows its horizons has surely suffered a qualitative loss. Yet Professor Roger Abrahams of Philadelphia unashamedly told the Turku Summer School in 1991 that this narrowing of perspective was welcome to his generation of American folklorists.

I shall not mince my words in this forum, any more than Walter Anderson did when he said that the trouble about the Finnish method from the point of view of many of its critics is that its application involves too much hard work. It is a banal fact that many North American scholars lack the linguistic and philological competence to deal with large amounts of diversified comparative data, and that their preference for studies that do not require such competence is a pragmatic solution to that problem. But it is not obvious that European scholars should impose the same restrictions on themselves. Folklore as a testimony to cultural exchange between peoples was a central concern of Julius Krohn, as I reminded you with my quotation at the beginning of this presentation, and it would be irresponsible for our discipline to abandon its international, cultural-historical concerns under the mere pressure of fashion.

In his introduction to the proceedings of the Turku meeting in 1980, Lauri Honko listed six characteristics of a scholarly paradigm. The last of these is that a paradigm eventually exhausts its own logical possibilities. Honko seems to think that this is the case with the geographic-historical method, for he has since gone on record with statements to the effect that the method is based on a text-critical fallacy and has reached a "dead-end". In a paper in the memorial volume for my friend Dr. Bengt Holbek I have discussed in detail how this position came to be collectively adopted by the majority of Nordic folklorists, but I do not want to retell that story now. What I want to say instead is that the logical possibilities of comparative folk narrative research are by no means exhausted. In Denmark, for example, we still have no Aarne-Thompson catalogue of our national folktale material, and we have very little idea of the extent of interaction between oral and written versions of tales – a problem that has been highlighted by our German colleague Rudolf Schenda, who has been mainly responsible for introducing the methods of literary sociology into folklore studies. Nor, in

spite of the industriousness of Kaarle Krohn's disciples, do we yet have anything like the number of monographs on individual tale types that would allow broad generalizations to be made about the genre.

I do not accept that comparativism in folkloristics is dead. The method that Anderson championed is not unscientific, its materials are far from having been exploited to the full, and – as Leea Virtanen has emphasized – its potential results are not without interest unless all historiography is thought to be a waste of time. Enthusiasts for the new scholarly paradigms should perhaps consider how these paradigms mirror the egocentrism of contemporary society; history is more of a collective than an individual project, and as such less interesting to the conscious post-modernist. We might say that if we are to rescue our concept of the “folk” from dissolution into groups consisting of only one member, we had better start writing history again. That is a proposal to which Walter Anderson would have lent his emphatic support.

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Walter Anderson als Forscher des estnischen Volksliedes

Ülo Tedre (Tallinn)

Die estnische Volkskunde hatte Anfang der 30er Jahre zwei Zentren. Zum einen war es die Universität Tartu, an der neben dem Privatprofessor Matthias Johann Eisen und dem Assistenten Elmar Päss Walter Anderson als ordentlicher Professor für estnische und vergleichende Volkskunde tätig war. Einen Überblick über seine Arbeit gibt diese Konferenz. M. J. Eisen beschäftigte sich während der Zeit seiner Professur mit dem Volksglauben und den Brauchtum der Esten (Eisen 1919-26; 1925; 1931; 1932). Die Forschungen von E. Päss berühren verschiedene Gebiete, doch war es seine Absicht, sich auf die Martinslieder (d.h. die Älteren Volkslieder) zu konzentrieren.

Das zweite Zentrum war das Estnische Volkskundliche Archiv (ERA), dessen Leiter, Oskar Loorits, W. Anderson in bezug auf seine Arbeitsintensität und -ausdauer in nichts nachstand. O. Loorits konzentrierte sich auf den Volksglauben. Die weiteren Mitarbeiter des ERA waren anfangs damit beschäftigt, durch Zusammenstellen von Registern der im Archiv angelegten Sammlungen und Einordnen des kopierten Materials in Karteikästen sowie durch weitere Feldforschungen ein funktionstüchtiges Zentralarchiv zu bilden. Dabei änderte sich ständig die Arbeitsverteilung. Erst langsam kristallisierte sich auch bei den Arbeitern im Archiv eigene Spezialgebiete heraus: so beschäftigte sich Richard Viidalepp mit Volkserzählungen und Herbert Tampere mit Volksliedern und -musik; Rudolf Põldmäes Interesse lag auf literaturwissenschaftlichem Gebiet – speziell auf das Literatur der Brüdergemeine – und im ERA kam ihm die Arbeit eines „Mädchen für alles“ zu, in der er sich mit Volkstänzen, Schwänken u.s.w. beschäftigte.

W. Anderson vermittelte seinen Schülern die sog. Finnische Forschungsmethode. Man muß zugeben, daß seine Schüler bei dessen Anwendung sehr viel stumpfer und dogmatischer vorgehen als der Altmeister selbst. In W. Andersons Forschungen findet sich stets ein schöpferischer Funke seiner unglaublichen Bildung wieder; bei seinen Schülern hingegen das beinahe mechanisch befolgte, trocken erlernte Schema.

W. Anderson ist in der Geschichte der Volkskunde berühmt geworden als Theoretiker der Historisch-geographischen oder Finnischen Schule und als Forscher der Volkserzählungen. Dies sind die bedeutenderen, bei weitem aber nicht die einzigen Seiten seines wissenschaftlichen Schaffens. Ich weise z.B. auf seine Rezensionen hin, dank deren Vermittlung einige in wenig bekannten Sprachen veröffentlichte Märchentexte in den wissenschaftlichen Umlauf gekommen sind.

Der Zeitpunkt, zu dem W. Anderson als Professor an die Universität Tartu beirufen wurde, war für Volkskundler und Volkskunde schwer. Die großen Sammlungen estnischer Volksdichtung waren zerstreut: Die von Hurt war bei Kaarle Krohn in Helsinki in Aufbewahrung, wohin auch die Sammlung des Vereins Studierender Esten (EÜS) evakuiert worden war. Die Sammlung der Estnischen Literarischen Gesellschaft (EKS) war in Tallinn. In Tartu standen den Dozenten und Studenten nur die kleine Sammlung der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft (ÕES) und die von Eisen zur Verfügung. Erst im Jahr 1927 wurde das Estnische Volkskundliche Archiv gegründet in das die einzelnen Sammlungen zusammengeführt wurden. Neben der Energie des Leiters des ERA, Dr. O. Loorits, hat auch Prof. W. Anderson seine Autorität als Vorsitzender des ERA-Kollegiums als fördernde Kraft bei der Entwicklung des Zentralarchives eingesetzt.

W. Anderson sah ein, daß er sich als Leiter des Lehrstuhls für estnische und vergleichende Volkskunde nicht auf Dauer von dem repräsentativsten Gebiet der estnischen Volksdichtung, dem Volkslied, fernhalten könne. Als von der Estnischen Literarischen Gesellschaft auf K. Krohns Initiative hin die lyroepischen Volkslieder veröffentlicht wurden, nahm auch W. Anderson an der Herausgabe teil. Ihm kam dabei der langwierigste Teil der Arbeit zu, die Korrektur: die Texte wurden auf K. Krohns Anregung hin so publiziert, wie sie aufgeschrieben worden waren, mit allen Fehlern – so bedurfte die Korrektur besonderer Aufmerksamkeit. Es wurden *Die Estnischen Volkslieder I* (ERL

1926) und II (ERL 1932) publiziert. 1935 veröffentlichte W. Anderson eine umfangreiche Arbeit *Studien zur Wortsilbenstatistik der Älteren estnischen Volkslieder*, die er der Kalewala-Gesellschaft zum 100. Erscheinungsjahr des Epos widmete (Anderson 1935). Die Schlußfolgerungen dieser hervorragenden Arbeit sind bis heute leider nicht ausreichend berücksichtigt worden.

Ehe W. Anderson sich jedoch in die Älteren Volkslieder vertiefte, beschäftigte er sich mit den Neueren. Die praktische Seite seiner Arbeit auf diesem zeitgenössischen Gebiet der Volkskunde bestand aus dem Sammeln von Kinderliedern. Von 1921-1939 entstand die sog. A-Sammlung mit einer Umfang von 58 832 Seiten, die bis heute jedoch kaum bearbeitet wurde. Man weiß nicht einmal mit Sicherheit, wieviele Texte sie enthält. W. Anderson wandte sich bei ihrer Zusammenstellung an die Estnischlehrer der Grundschulen. Diese ließen ihre Schüler während des Unterrichts alle Lieder, die sie kannten, aufschreiben. Die Lehrer selbst waren – wenigstens am Anfang – nicht in der Lage, die Niederschrift zu betreuen. Als Idealist glaubte der Professor, daß jeder Schüler wirklich nur das aufschreiben würde, was er selbst auswendig weiß. Die Schüler schrieben jedoch, weil sie sich schämten, dem Lehrer nur einige wenige Texte abzugeben, von einander ab, so daß eine riesige Menge von Kopien entstand. Meist ist es vergeblich, Primäres von Sekundären zu unterscheiden. Deswegen ist die A-Sammlung unter den Forschern nicht sehr populär. Doch war es eben diese Sammlung, die es W. Anderson ermöglichte, einen Teil der estnischen Volksdichtung systematisch kennenzulernen.

Es ist charakteristisch, daß der erste Überblick und die Einführung in das Neuere estnische Volkslied von einem Schriftsteller und Essayisten geschrieben wurde. Friedebert Tuglas charakterisierte die Thematik, den Stil und die Weltanschauung der Volkslieder in seinem Aufsatz *Der literarische Stil* (Tuglas 1919). Abgesehen von einer gewissen Subjektivität, die in einem Essay auch angebracht ist, ist seine Charakteristik weitgehend zutreffend. Es dauerte, bis neben den Essayisten ein Wissenschaftler, nämlich W. Anderson, trat.

W. Anderson sah ein, daß das Sammeln des Materials nur ein erster Schritt sein kann. Desweiteren muß das Material registriert, Verzeichnisse und Register zusammengestellt werden. 1927 beendete Bernhard Sööt unter W. Andersons Leitung seine Magisterarbeit *Die Neueren*

estnischen Volkslieder in der Sammlung von M. J. Eisen (Sööt 1927). Obwohl das Register Lücken enthält, und die Beschränkung auf die ersten Verszeile der Lieder nur mit der Absicht, die Arbeit möglichst schnell zu beenden, zu erklären ist, gibt das Register doch einen provisorischen Überblick über die Neueren Lieder in Eisens Sammlung.

Ein weiteres wichtiges Projekt von W. Anderson war es, ein Preisausschreiben zum Thema *Ein alphabetisches Inhaltsregister der gedruckten Liederbücher* zu organisieren. In der II. Hälfte des vorigen und Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts erschienen mehrere Liederbücher, in denen Liedertexte, meistens ohne Melodien, abgedruckt waren. Sie enthielten sowohl Übersetzungen, als auch Originale von Kunstliedern und Volkslieder. Um die Volkslieder von den Kunstliedern zu unterscheiden, war ein Register dringend nötig. Auf das von W. Anderson gegebene Thema reagierte der Student Herbert Tampere. Seine Arbeit war zweiteilig und bestand aus einer Bibliographie der Liederbücher und einem Inhaltsregister der Bücher. Leider ist diese wertvolle Arbeit unvollständig, da nicht alle erschienenen Liederbücher berücksichtigt worden waren. Deswegen erhielt H. Tampere auch nur den zweiten Preis. Doch gab seine Arbeit eine provisorische Orientierungsmöglichkeit in der Literatur der Liederbücher. In den 30er Jahren ist von E. Päss, dem Assistenten von W. Anderson, eine Registerkartei der Neueren Lieder zusammengestellt worden.

In den Jahren 1930-32 erschien unter W. Andersons Leitung eine Reihe von Seminar- und Proseminararbeiten über die Neueren Lieder: Leida Lepp, *Eine Monographie über das Lied "Auf dem Berg im Felsenschloß"* (1930); Hilda Rebane, *Volkslied "In der jungen Kindheit"* (1930); Linda Hammerman *"Johanniabend am Feuer". Monographie* (1930); Johannes Söster *Monographie "Liebe Mutter, Vogelmutter"* (1931) und J. Sillamik *Analyse des Volksliedes "Sag' doch, schönes Mädelin"* (1932). Natürlich handelt es sich hierbei nur um Übungsarbeiten, aber bereits dadurch wurde klar, daß die geleisteten Vorarbeiten schon eine genauere Analyse der Materialien ermöglichten.

1932 erschienen die Arbeit *Das Lied von den zwei Königskindern in der estnischen Volksüberlieferung* (Anderson 1932) sowie *Das Lied über das Seufzen des Hasen in der estnischen Volksüberlieferung und Literatur* (Tampere 1932) und ein Jahr später *Das Gut der Eltern. Monographie eines Trinkliedes von der Mitte oder zweitem Viertel des XIX Jahrhunderts* (Kurlents 1933).

Die Arbeit von A. Kurlents entstand unter Leitung von W. Anderson, die von H. Tampere dagegen mit Hilfe von O. Loorits. Darum betrachtet H. Tampere die Lieder von der kulturgeschichtlichen Seite her; A. Kurlents aber hielt sich an die Finnische Schule und das überdogmatische Schema, ohne den Versuch zu unternehmen, seine Betrachtung zu erweitern. Unter der Leitung von Prof. W. Anderson ist auch die Magisterarbeit von Oskar Peters *Der estnische Mann und sein Geschlecht. Monographie* (1935) entstanden, die aber ebenfalls nur ein Manuskript blieb. Man kann also sagen, daß fast die gesamte Forschung der Neueren estnischen Volkslieder, besonders aber die grundlegenden Tätigkeiten, wie das Erstellen von Verzeichnissen und Registern durch die Initiative und unter der Leitung von W. Anderson geschah. Auch waren seine Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Neueren Volkslieder mit Abstand die gründlichsten. Nur H. Tamperes Arbeiten könnten vielleicht mit denen von W. Anderson, sowohl was die Gründlichkeit der Behandlung, als auch was die Breite des Blickfeldes anbelangt, verglichen werden.

Jetzt aber zu W. Andersons oben erwähnte Studie (Anderson 1932). In der Einführung wird das erste Mal in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur das Neuere Volkslied im kontrastivem Vergleich mit dem Alten charakterisiert. W. Anderson gibt folgende Definition:

Die "alten" Lieder sind in dem alten nationalen Versmaß, einem quantifizierenden vierfüßigen Trochäus, gedichtet [---]; die "neueren" Lieder weisen die verschiedensten akzentuierenden Versmaße auf. Die alten sind reimlos – die neueren fast immer gereimt; die alten sind unstrophisch – die neueren bestehen aus Strophen oder doch wenigstens Reimpaaren; in den alten Liedern spielt die Alliteration [---] eine konstitutive Rolle – in den neueren hat sie bloß die Bedeutung eines mehr oder minder zufälligen äußeren Schmuckes; in den alten Liedern ist fast jeder Vers von einem Parallelverse begleitet – in den neueren kommt diese Erscheinung fast niemals vor; die alten haben in ihrer höchst eigentümlichen archaischen Sprache eine Menge sonst seit Jahrhunderten ausgestorbener Wortformen aufbewahrt – die neueren werden durchaus in der Sprache der Jetztzeit gesungen. Die Melodien der alten Lieder sind überaus eintönig und erstrecken sich in der Regel nur über

einen einzigen Vers, während diejenigen der neueren viel bunter sind und immer eine ganze Strophe umfassen. (Anderson 1932: 1-2)

Wichtig ist die Bemerkung von W. Anderson, daß der Unterschied zwischen den beiden Kategorien nicht chronologisch, sondern formal ist (Anderson 1932: 2). Bemerkenswert ist auch seine Schlußfolgerung von zwei nebeneinander existierenden Genres, die einander kaum beeinflussen:

Es ist dies derselbe Zustand, der sich im XIX und XX Jahrhundert bei den Finnen, den Letten und den Großrussen beobachten läßt; und genau dasselbe Bild muß die Volksdichtung sämtlicher germanischer Stämme in der Zeit um 900-1200 (in Skandinavien und England z.T. noch später) geboten haben, als die Stabreimdichtung nach und nach überall durch die Endreimdichtung abgelöst wurde. (Anderson 1932: 2)

Ein wenig voreingenommen beschuldigt W. Anderson die estnischen Volkskundler einer hochmütigen, sogar verächtlichen Einstellung dem Neueren Volkslied gegenüber. Mit Recht aber erwähnt er, daß das beste, was bis dahin über das Neuere Volkslied geschrieben wurde, "eine mehrere Seiten lange und trotz ihrer Subjektivität sehr beachtenswerte allgemeine Charakteristik in einem Aufsatz von Friedebert Tuglas" sei (Tuglas 1919: 47-56; Anderson 1932: 3). Er beendet seine Einführung:

Und doch ist eine solche Ignorierung der Neueren estnischen Volkslieder durch die wissenschaftliche Forschung in hohem Maße unberechtigt. Die Lieder sind nämlich in kulturhistorischer, psychologischer und verschiedenen anderer Hinsichten von nicht geringem Interesse; diesmal will ich jedoch nur von ihrer Bedeutung für die internationale Volksliedforschung sprechen. (Anderson 1932: 3-4)

Solch eine, auf dem Vergleich mit dem Älteren Volkslied beruhende Charakteristik scheint einfach, selbstverständlich, ja sogar banal zu sein. Doch wurde sie zum ersten Mal von W. Anderson formuliert und fand seitdem Eingang in verschiedene Standardwerke. 1946 wurde sie in

Estnische Volksdichtung (Laugaste 1946) in zeittypischer Weise referiert und nicht zitiert. Zuletzt wurde sie in 1980 in einem russisch-sprachigen Grundriss der estnischen Volksdichtung (Viidalepp 1980) rezipiert.

Man kann also sagen, daß W. Anderson ein Pionier in der Forschung des Neueren estnischen Volksliedes war. Ein Beispiel für seine bohrende Gründlichkeit ist die Tatsache, daß er sich, als er Angaben über Karoline Tiller (von ihr stammte das älteste bekannte Liederbuch) benötigte, an 31 Pastoren in Süd-Estland wandte. Natürlich bekam er die gewünschten Angaben. Man muß zugeben, daß nicht jeder Forscher zu so einer abschweifenden Vertiefung in die Forschung fähig ist, zudem die Ergebnisse keineswegs seinen Erwartungen entsprachen und seine Hypothese über die Verbreitung der Lieder unter den Esten ins Wanken brachte. Indem er sich auf die in K. Tillers Liederbuch stehende Jahreszahl 1854 berief, ging W. Anderson davon aus, daß das Lied *Zwei Königskinder* sich anfangs mündlich und erst später über die von Fr. Brandt gedruckten Liederbücher verbreitete. Als es sich aber herausstellte, daß K. Tiller erst 1849 in Lettland geboren wurde, 1861 nach Rannu kam und dort 1866 konfirmiert wurde, wurde das Datum im Liederbuch verdächtig. Dafür sprach aber die Tatsache, das von den niedergeschriebenen 15 Melodien keine einzige gedruckt worden war. Das bekräftigt die Hypothese der mündlichen Verbreitung, insbesondere, da es sich eigentlich nur um eine einzige Melodie (12 Varianten), bzw. deren mehr oder weniger zufällige Modifikationen (im besten Fall Redaktionen – 3 Varianten) handelte.

In seiner Forschung gibt W. Anderson ein vorbildliches Beispiel für die Anwendung der Finnischen Methode. Heute sind wir wieder auf der Suche nach einer verwendbaren Methode. Wir sind zur Erkenntnis gekommen, daß die Kulturanthropologie, die eigentlich eher der Soziologie zugeschrieben werden kann, für uns nicht geeignet ist, – wenigstens nicht in reiner Form. Man sollte doch in erster Linie die Volksdichtung studieren und erst danach ihre Träger. Vielleicht ist die Finnische Methode doch nicht hoffnungslos veraltet. Sollte man sie nicht, vielleicht ergänzt mit kulturhistorischen Aspekten, auch heute noch verwenden?

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Walter Anderson and Latvia

Māra Vīksna (Riga)

When seeking the contacts with another nation it is always possible to find some particular person of this nation who is highly capable to collaborate. For Prof. Walter Anderson such a person in Latvia was Anna Berzkalne (1891-1956), his student at Kazan University.

Bērzkalne was the first Latvian professional folklorist and the founder of the Archives of Latvian Folklore (*Latviešu Folkloras krātuve*). A teacher by profession, she was one of the most educated women at her time. She was born in Vidzeme, the hilliest part of Latvia. The birch trees growing near the farmhouse may have given the family their name Bērzkalns (*bērzs* – 'birch', *kalns* – 'hill'). Some of the members of Berzkalns family were Estonians. Bērzkalne finished the best secondary school in Riga at the time. She had a good command of German and Russian and she could read and speak English and French. After finishing school in 1908, Bērzkalne worked as a teacher in the taiga of Usury in the Far East, where she went together with the family of her mother's brother who was an army officer.

In 1913 she started attending special courses for women at the Department of Slavonic Philology, Kazan University. Bērzkalne graduated on 20 October 1917 with the first class diploma; her diploma paper discussed phonetic changes in Indo-European languages.

In her autobiography Bērzkalne wrote:

The Professor in Kazan, later on in Tartu and Königsberg, Walter Anderson, who prepared assistants for folklore study, introduced me and N. Andreyev to the issues and methods of folkloristics already in 1917. (Bērzkalne 1945: 3-4)

While being a student in Kazan, Bērzkalne translated Latvian legends from the collection compiled by A. Lerhis-Puškaitis (published in seven volumes between 1891 and 1903, containing ca. 6000 texts) for Anderson. The same translation was later on used by Oskar Loorits when he in 1921 collected Livonian legends and beliefs.

In 1920 Anderson was offered the professorship of folkloristics at Tartu University. Bērzkalne returned from Kazan to Latvia and became a teacher of the Latvian language and literature at the Second Secondary School in Riga. It was then that the correspondence between the professor and his former student began. There are fifty seven letters in the Academic Library in Riga which contain valuable commentaries on folkloristics written by Anderson. Earlier letters are in Russian, the last eleven in German. I would like to emphasise that Bērzkalne helped to establish an important fact in Estonian literary history. Still in Kazan, she translated from Latvian some parts of G. F. Stender's *Tales and stories (Jaukas pasakas in stāsti 1766)* for Anderson. During her first year at school Bērzkalne translated 150 tales into German and prepared an article on Stender's works (Bērzkalne 1923/4). Through the translations by Bērzkalne Anderson discovered that the book by F.W.von Willmann *Tales and Riddles (Juttud ja Moistatussed; first print Juttud ja Teggud 1782)*, which for more than one and a half century has been considered to mark the beginning of the Estonian secular literature, was in fact just a translation of the book by G. F. Stender. Anderson referred to the fact at the annual meeting of the Estonian Learned Society on 10 May 1921, and published an article about Latvian influences on early Estonian literature in 1925 (Anderson 1925a). Bērzkalne immediately translated it into Latvian (Anderson 1925b). Anderson admitted that he had taken nearly all the data on Stender and his book from the article by Bērzkalne (1923/4), since he had not found time to learn the Latvian language.

Bērzkalne not only introduced Anderson and other European folklorists to Latvian, but also to Lithuanian folklore. She translated Latvian and Lithuanian lullabies. In one of his letters Anderson thanks her for providing him with the index of these songs which was "arranged in a way exactly suitable for the needs of my course" (08.08.1922). Anderson encouraged Bērzkalne to prepare a bibliography of Latvian folklore (*Volkskundliche Bibliographie 1927-41*) and an index of long songs pub-

lished in *Latvju Dainas* (Bērzkalne 1938). Anderson guided his pupil in her scholarly work, helped her to prepare for the doctoral exams, which she passed in Tartu in 1935, comparing Latvian, Lithuanian, Russian, Polish and Estonian folksongs. Bērzkalne also learned Lithuanian, Estonian, Finnish, Danish, Swedish, Polish and Czech in order to carry out her folkloristic research. Her doctoral dissertation was originally to focus on the index of long songs, but since Anderson left Estonia in 1939, Bērzkalne wrote her thesis on the type of the long songs *Song of the Youth who Died of Sorrow*. She defended it in Tartu in 1942 with Prof. N. Andreyev as the opponent.

The most important result of the co-operation of Bērzkalne and prof. Anderson was the foundation of the Archives of Latvian Folklore. Bērzkalne began collecting folklore with the help of schoolchildren as early as in 1922. In a letter, Anderson wrote to her:

It is necessary to make schoolchildren to write down songs from their memory in your presence; the result will be brilliant; I think I have already written to you that I managed to collect more than 1 200 pieces of Estonian folklore in two days working two hours each day (in both classes there were more than 40 people); it is essential to collect all the sheets immediately after the completion of the task and not allow the children to take them home to finish; the sheets can only get lost that way. (08.05.1922)

He added to his letter a suggested list of the children's songs in German with a commentary in Russian. By the time the Archives of Latvian Folklore were founded in 1924, Bērzkalne had a collection of about 40 000 songs written down by children.

In his letters Anderson compared lullabies of different peoples and gave Bērzkalne permission to use his notes in her work. He took keen interest in Latvian folklore in which he also was very knowledgeable. In a letter he dealt with scholarly honesty in relation to publishing Latvian folktales.

It is regrettable that Švābe publishes shortened variants [of tales], since these will serve as a basis for future

variants. I doubt whether he will be capable of completing his gigantic work. (19.09.1923)¹

In 1924 Prof. Anderson and Kaarle Krohn lectured at the Herder's Society in Riga. Anderson even had an idea to organise a Latvian – Estonian folklore collection competition which unfortunately never happened. Bērzkalne was the head of the Archives of Latvian Folklore (the first folklore archives in the Baltic countries) until 1 May 1929. The Archives followed the scholarly principles of Finnish and Estonian folklore research (historical-geographical method). Bērzkalne was dismissed from the position with no explicit reason to the advantage of the former Minister of Education and specialist of classical philology Kārlis Straubergs. Bērzkalne nevertheless continued her work in the field of folklore.

Although the Soviet authorities did not accept her doctor's degree during the first post-war years, Bērzkalne worked as a lecturer at the University of Soviet Latvia. She taught courses on Latvian, Finnish, Estonian and Russian folklore. In 1949, however, Bērzkalne was accused of having wrong ideological orientation; hence she was not allowed to work with the students and was dismissed from the university together with the well-known Latvian linguist Prof. Jānis Endzelīns. In 1950 Bērzkalne lost her position at the Institute of Folklore, Academy of Sciences of Soviet Latvia as well.

Bērzkalne had close contacts not only with Anderson but also with other European folklorists and scholars of her time (O. Loorits, K. Krohn, J. Meier, K. R. Wickmann, P. Geiger, E. Pohl, G. Dompe, A. Annist, P. Ariste, A. Bauman, J. Balys, Ch. Reidas, J. J. Gielen, J. Hackmann, L. Hakulinen, U. Harva, M. Haavio, M. Lepik, etc.). More than 250 letters documenting her correspondence with them have been preserved in the archives of the Academic Library of Latvia. There is a vast collection of books by Anderson and other European folklorists which contain dedications and autographs. The 134 letters by Oskar Loorits – the head of the Estonian Folklore Archives – written in German, Estonian and Latvian to Bērzkalne would certainly be of interest to Estonian folklorists.

¹Later, between 1925 and 1937, Pēteris Šmits compiled a collection of Latvian folktales and legends in 15 volumes.

Anderson and Bērzkalne were engaged in fruitful co-operation for years. Anderson influenced Bērzkalne's choice of the theoretical approach; he gave her practical advice on organising the Archives of Latvian Folklore and on the methods of collecting folklore. Anderson encouraged her to compile the bibliography of Latvian folklore. To conclude with, the work of Bērzkalne and Anderson played a significant role in the development of Latvian folklore research in the 1920s – 1940s.

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Die vergleichende Märchenforschung in Estland heute

Pille Kippar (Tallinn)

Als ich meinen Vortrag *Die vergleichende Märchenforschung in Estland heute*¹ nannte, habe ich an die Zeit nach dem Aufbruch Walter Andersons aus Estland (1939) gedacht.² Im Laufe von 20 Jahren (1920-1939) wurden in Tartu viele Volkskundler ausgebildet, wobei die vergleichende Forschungsmethode bei der Untersuchung aller Folklore-gattungen Anwendung fand.

Doch zuerst ein kleiner Rückblick.

Die erste Arbeit auf dem Gebiet der vergleichenden Märchenforschung in Estland war die Dissertation *Das slavische Tierepos in Vergleich mit dem finnischen* (1887) von Jaan Jõgever (1860-1924), Professor für estnische Sprache an der Universität Tartu. Die Anregung zu dieser Arbeit hatte Jõgever von russischen, finnischen und deutschen Volkskndlern bekommen. Sein Ziel war es, die große Ähnlichkeit der Märchen dieser Völker zu beweisen.

In den Jahren 1907-1927, als Jakob Hurts (1839-1907) Sammlungen estnischer Volksdichtung in Helsinki aufbewahrt wurden, konnte der finnische Volkskundler Antti Aarne die estnischen Materialien in seinen zahlreichen vergleichenden Märchenuntersuchungen verwenden. Sein

¹Siehe auch Pille Kippar, Die estnischen Volksmärchen. Diether Röth & Walter Kahn (Hrsg.), *Märchen und Märchenforschung in Europa*. Frankfurt/M: Haag+Herchen, 1993, 73-79. (Anm. d. Hrsg.)

²Nach der Abschluß des militärisch-politischen Molotow-Ribbentrop Paktes am 23.08.1939 hat Adolf Hitler alle Deutschbalten aus den sogenannten Ostgebieten, auch aus der Republik Estland, in die Heimat, Deutschland, zurückgerufen.

Verzeichnis *Estnische Märchen- und Sagenvarianten* (Aarne 1918) legt der Forschung die vorhandenen Materialien in einem System vor, welches er anfangs lediglich auf Basis finnischer und skandinavischer Märchen zusammengestellt hatte. Da aber das estnische Märchenrepertoire viel reicher war, mußten etwa zehn neue Märchentypen hinzugefügt werden.

Zur selben Zeit beschäftigte sich in Kazan die Hauptperson der heutigen Konferenz, der Volkskundler deutschbaltischer Abstammung Walter Anderson mit Volkserzählungen. Seine Monographie *Kaiser und Abt* (Anderson 1923), in der er die Märchen vieler Völker untersucht, diente viele Jahre als Vorbild und Musterarbeit der vergleichenden Märchenforschung.

Sein Vater Nikolai Anderson, dessen 150. Geburtstag sich am 6.10.1995 jährte, und der aus dem nordöstlichen Kirchspiel Viru-Jaagupi in Estland stammt, hat einige Jahre vor der Geburt seines Sohnes die vergleichende linguistische Untersuchung *Studien zur Vergleichung der indogermanischen und finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen* (1879) veröffentlicht.

Die vergleichende Märchenforschung wurde in Tartu von Dr. Oskar Loorits (1900-1961), dem Schüler, Nachfolger und Kollegen von W. Anderson in vielen Untersuchungen und Monographien weitergeführt.

In der Zeit nach dem II Weltkrieg, genauer nach den 50er Jahren wurden an der Universität Tartu viele Studenten von Eduard Laugaste, Udo Kolk, später auch von Paul Hagu u.a. zur vergleichenden Methode der Märchenforschung geführt. Insgesamt wurden in dieser Zeit über 25 Studienarbeiten geschrieben.

Eine bedeutende Arbeit auf dem Feld der vergleichenden Märchenforschung hat Dr. August Annist (1899-1971) durchgeführt, indem er den internationalen Hintergrund der Märchen von Fr. R. Kreutzwald (1967; 1981³) erforschte und Kreutzwalds literarische Bearbeitungen (43 Märchen und 18 Ortssagen) mit späteren handschriftlichen Märchentexten verglich (Annist 1966). A. Annist war ein ausgezeichneter Kenner der früheren deutschen und französischen Quellen. Als Ergebnis seiner Analyse konnte er feststellen, daß ca. ein Drittel des Materials aus Kreutzwalds Kindheitserinnerungen in Virumaa/Nordost-Estland stammt, ein zweites Drittel wurde aus dem europäischen Schrifttum

³Die Erstausgabe in Estnisch 1866; deutsche Übersetzungen I 1869; II 1881.

entliehen und das letzte Drittel frei hinzu phantasiert. Einige Märchen von Kreutzwald wurden später einer detaillierten Analyse unterzogen (Kalmre 1989). Leider dienen Kreutzwalds Märchen, bzw. seine literarische Bearbeitungen, in der Welt bis heute als Beispiele echter estnischer Volksmärchen.

In der Sowjetzeit, als viele Themen nicht weiter erforscht werden konnten, fand die vergleichende Methode jedoch bei der Untersuchung der Leibeigenschaftslieder und Pastorenschwänke Anwendung. Hier sei z.B. ein Artikel von Loreida Raudsep erwähnt, der auf der klassischen vergleichenden Untersuchungsmethode basiert (Raudsep 1976).

Professor Uku Masing (1910-1985) richtete seine Aufmerksamkeit auf weitere internationale Parallelen zu den Märchen von Fr. R. Kreutzwald und bereicherte somit die vergleichende estnische Märchenforschung in den 70er und 80er Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts. Für seine monographischen Untersuchungen wählte er Märchen aus, die nur für ihn mit seinen einzigartigen Sprachkenntnissen zugänglich waren, wie z.B. das wahrscheinlich im Iran beheimatete und auf dem Wolga-Wasserweg durch Griechenland und die Türkei nach Rußland gewanderte Märchen *The Purchased Wife* (AT 887A*), das estnische und indische Märchen *Der Maler und der Baumeister* (AT 980) oder das sowohl in Sibirien als auch in Nordamerika erzählte Märchen *vom gestohlenen Donnerinstrument* (AT 1148B) mit mythologischem Hintergrund (Masing 1979; 1977; 1987). Das letztgenannte hat neben W. Anderson (1939) und A. Annist (1966) auch andere Forscher interessiert: so hat bereits O. Loorits früher dieses Thema behandelt (1932).

Durch die Untersuchungen von U. Masing erschien auch das Märchen *Gegnersucher* (*Strong John*, AT 650) in neuem Licht. (Masing 1981). Zu den früheren estnischen (über 45) und finnischen (22) Varianten stellte U. Masing weitere Parallelen bei den Abchasen, Georgiern und Kabardinern fest – insgesamt fand er bei 11 Völkern mindestens 33 Varianten. Gleichzeitig gelang es ihm, einige nicht dazu gehörende Varianten zu entlarven. U. Masings Meinung nach setzte das Märchen die ehemalige Existenz von Riesen voraus, welche als gewöhnliche Menschen lebten, ähnlich wie die Waldgeister der Chanten und Mansen. Auch dieses Märchen wurde bereits früher von A. Annist untersucht (1934).⁴

⁴Die 52 Varianten von Märchen "Gegnersucher" (AT 650A) siehe Laugaste & Normann 1959.

U. Masing hat in seinen Arbeiten frühere wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen mit berücksichtigt – immer konnte er ihnen etwas Wesentliches hinzufügen. Seine Wertungen sind kritisch und genau. Viele Texte, welche anderen Wissenschaftlern nur in Übersetzungen zugänglich waren, konnte er in Original verwenden. Von daher bieten seine Monographien stets vielfältige Parallelen und glaubwürdige Hypothesen.

Gleichzeitig mit der Bearbeitung und Erforschung der estnischen Materialien hat U. Masing sich auch mit Märchen beschäftigt, die im finnisch-baltischen Areal bis dahin unbekannt waren (Masing 1968). Als ausgezeichnete Kenner vieler Kulturen hat er stets auf die Kulturverbindungen der Völker unterschiedlicher Nationen verwiesen. Er war ein Phänomen, nicht nur was die estnische Märchenforschung anbelangt.

Über Sprache und Heimat, über Kulturerbe und Heimatverbundenheit spricht Kristi Salve in ihrer sympatischen Untersuchung *Eine Heldengeschichte von Sibirien bis zu den Ostseefinnen* (Salve 1995). Zu diesem Thema kam sie durch einen besonderen Glücksfall, der sie im Dorf Ladva bei den Mittelwepsen ein ihr bisher unbekanntes Märchen finden ließ. K. Salve hat sich tief in das Märchenmaterial der Ostseefinnen vertieft. Sie spricht auch über die Verbreitung und Behandlung einiger Märchentypen wie *Die Schwester und die neun Brüder* (AT 451A I; AT 452C*) (Salve 1984), über setukesische Märchen mit Melodien (Salve & Sarv 1987) und über ostseefinnisch-baltische Märchen und ihre ältesten Schichten (Salve 1985; 1990). Ihre zuverlässigen Untersuchungen zeigen, daß sie sich auch in anderen Folklore-gattungen und in den Märchen der Nachbarvölker und weiter verwandten Völker gut zurechtfinden kann.

Die ersten Schritte auf dem Felde des vergleichenden Märchenforschung machte die Verfasserin des vorliegenden Artikels im zweiten Studienjahr, als ihr E. Laugaste vorschlug, die Märchentypen im Buch *Uralte Märchen über Reinecke Fuchs* von Ernst Peterson-Särgava (1911) und in den volkskundlichen Notizen von Jüri Peterson im Kirchspiel Vändra ausfindig zu machen. Wie mir gut in Erinnerung geblieben ist, gab es in beiden Quellen nur wenige identische Sujets, die jedoch auch in vielen anderen Sammlungen aus dem Gebiet Vändra vorhanden waren. Bei dieser Arbeit habe ich auch die Quelle entdeckt, der meine Eltern meinen Vornamen Pille entnommen haben. Die

Erzählungen über Mutter, Vater und Pilleke gehörten in unserer Familie zu den Alltagsmärchen und wurden mündlich erzählt, an das Buch von E. Peterson-Särgava zu Hause kann ich mich nicht erinnern.

Auf der Grundlage der Forschungsmethoden von K. Krohn und A. Aarne habe ich auch andere Studienarbeiten geschrieben (1956-1959). Diese waren Vorbereitungsarbeiten für das Verzeichnis der estnischen Tiermärchen (Kippar 1986). Im Estnischen Volkskundlichen Archiv (ERA) arbeiteten bereits W. Anderson, O. Loorits und H. Tampere über Märchentypen.

Das Zusammenstellen eines Märchenkatalogs ist durchgängig eine vergleichende Arbeit. Jede Variante muß mit anderen Varianten und Typenbeschreibungen verglichen und in den Katalog eingeordnet werden.

Einige Märchentypen mit zahlreichen Varianten gaben den Anreiz dazu, eigene Monographien zusammenzustellen. Mit solchen Einzeluntersuchungen wollte ich die entstandenen Fragen lösen. Mit Hilfe des Vogelmärchens *Die Krähe heiratet* (AT 243C*) bildete ich Kriterien zur Unterscheidung von Tiermärchen und Naturlautdeutungen (Kippar 1985). Die Frage nach dem Verhältnis der estnischen Tiermärchen zu den Märchen vom Dummen Teufel konnte man gut anhand des Märchens *Die Ernteteilung* (AT 9/1030; 13 Völker, 601 Texte) lösen (Kippar 1987). Die 70 vorhandenen estnischen Varianten teilen sich so auf, daß in 35 Fällen der Bär der Widersacher des Menschen ist, in 35 Fällen aber der Dumme Teufel. In Estland hat der Wechsel der Tiergestalten eine zentrale Rolle gespielt. Das Verzeichnis der handelnden Personen in den estnischen Tiermärchen kann man als Vergleichsmaterial bei der Untersuchung anderer FolkloreGattungen verwenden (Kippar 1989).

Einige Märchen(typen) zeigen, wie sich in besonders produktiven Gegenden zu allgemein beliebten Märchen Parallelredaktionen herausbilden können. Das estnische Märchen *Die Ratschläge des Frosches* (AT 150A*) – eine Parallele zum weitverbreiteten Typ *Die Ratschläge des Vogels* (AT 150) – kann hier als Beispiel angeführt werden (Kippar 1975).

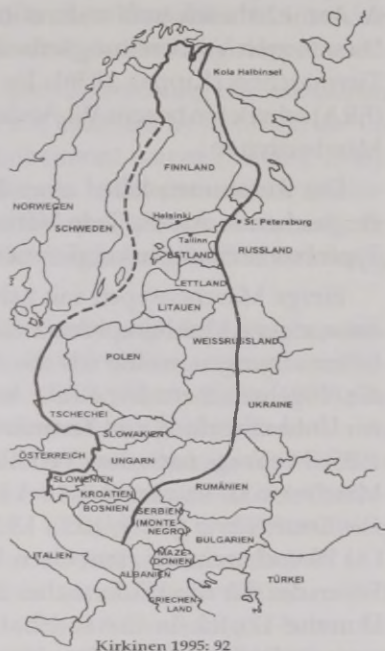
In meiner bisher unveröffentlichten Dissertation *Estnische Tiermärchen* (Kippar 1991a; 1991b), die 37 Typenmonographien beinhaltet, habe ich die Verbreitungsareale aller estnischen Tiermärchen mit den der anderen ostseefinnischen Völker und deren Nachbarvölker verglichen. Die 314 Typen der estnischen Tiermärchen lassen sich in fünf wesentliche Verbreitungsgruppen einteilen (Kippar 1990). Die

Verbreitungsareale vieler Märchen können Informationen über gemeinsame Erscheinungen im Märchengut der Esten und ihrer Nachbarvölker liefern und somit ein Zeugnis über die frühen Kontakte zwischen den Völkern ablegen.

Meine vergleichende Arbeit ist als passender Anhang zu den Untersuchungen von Prof. Heikki Kirkinen (Joensuu/Finland) gedacht, beispielsweise zu seiner Untersuchung über Karelien: *Die Probleme der drei Karelien. Karelien ist zwischen den Westen und Osten geboren*. Da hat H. Kirkinen eine gute und überzeugende Karte über das Streitgebiet zwischen West und Ost zusammengestellt (Kirkinen 1995: 92), zu der wir, Esten, auch gehören.

Die vergleichende Forschung erfordert viel Zeit und Genauigkeit. Aber den Schlußfolgerungen solcher Arbeiten kann man vertrauen, da sie gut kontrollierbar sind. In Estland gibt es aus jedem kleinen Gebiet viele Überlieferungen. Deshalb kann gerade hier die Methode von W. Anderson gut verwendet werden. Die Überlieferungen, die frühere Generationen gesammelt und die wir vergleichend durchgearbeitet haben, ist eine gute Basis für künftige Forscher.

Die Verbreitungsgebiete der Märchen, die ich in meiner Arbeit behandelt habe, haben mehrere Bedeutungen. Sie zeigen, wie es den Esten möglich gewesen ist, zwischen zwei Welten zu leben und zu überleben und damit auch in der Wissenschaft weltweit ihren Beitrag zu leisten.



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Trials of Heroes in Novelle Tales

Bronislava Kerbelytė (Vilnius)

The elements of narrative structures – elementary plots¹ – often represent encounters and relations between heroes and hostile or benevolent strangers. The heroes of elementary plots attempt to become free or gain some material wealth. Elementary plots describing various trials of the heroes make up a separate class. In fairy-tales older or socially superior antipodes test the younger heroes who usually do not have any societal status and depend on the antipodes-testers. In some cases heroes are of inferior status, thus seeking a higher societal position. According to the goals of the heroes (the striving for equal rights or a higher status), the elementary plots describing the trials belong to the third class of elementary plots (Kerbelytė 1991: 103-106).

Along with the essential structural elements common to all elementary plots (the initial situation, the hero's action and the result), setting a task to the hero is obligatory in these elementary plots: the antipode tells the hero to perform a certain task. Frequently, he is notified of anticipatory murder in case he fails. If these elementary plots are inserted into the frames where the antipodes lay down the condition that the hero has to possess a bride or some object and test the claimants to the object themselves, the action of command merges with the action of condition.

The relationship of the hero and the antipode as well as the nature

¹Br. Kerbelytė has defined elementary plot as follows: the actions and situations related to the achievement of one goal by one hero, irrespective of their place in the text. Elementary plots consist of the initial situation, the actions and the result (Kerbelytė 1991: 370).

Footnotes by the editor.

of trials suggest that the elementary plots of the third class of fairy-tales² are related to the rites of initiation. The ancient tribal rites of obtaining equal rights in a community did not vanish without a trace. In the course of time they transformed into the ceremonies of testing young people before they got married. Such serious or fun-making rites were even described in the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century in Lithuania and some neighbouring countries.

This paper studies the elementary plots describing the trials of heroes in novelle tales. Comparing semantically related elementary plots in fairy-tales and in novelle tales, it is possible to follow their development and adaptation to a new artistic system. The paper is based on the Lithuanian narrative folklore. Very similar novelle tales occur in the traditions of neighbouring and other European countries, therefore it is likely that the described phenomena are not confined to Lithuanian folklore only.

In Lithuanian fairy-tales the positive elementary plots describing the trials of heroes fall into 14 types. Each of these types has a semantic negative counterpart, (i.e. the elementary plots with negative results). The elementary plots of all 14 positive and 6 negative types constitute the core of the structural-semantic types of fairy-tales, while the core of the novelle tales is made up by 7 positive and 2 negative elementary plot types. There are 10 tale plots which are based on elementary plots belonging to the type *Hero makes use of information on concrete object*. The elementary plots of novelle tales and fairy-tales are diverse versions of this type. The hero of elementary plot in fairy-tales usually receives information about an object in the first place; only then does he make use of it. For example, he sees sheep eating and then he tells what sheep have eaten. The heroes of related elementary plots in novelle tales are frequently aware of the essential features of the objects and are therefore able to describe them in the abstract language of riddles. Thus there is no ground for claiming that novelle tales' elementary plots of the trials of heroes are mere transformations of the elementary plots of fairy-tales.

Now let us have a look at the elementary plots of novelle tales relating of the trials and consider the relationship between the heroes and

²For the classification and structure of fairy-tales see Kerbelytė 1991: 237-299.

their antipodes. In the Lithuanian tales analysed there are no heroes without a societal status. The heroes, though on trial, are not fighting for obtaining the right to live (i.e. equal tribal rights). In several novelle tales the tested heroes are young persons of an inferior social status (e.g. a peasant's daughter/ a servant/ a shepherd/ a boy), while their antipodes enjoy a high status and are close to the heroes from the territorial point of view (the master on whom the peasant's family/ the servant/ the shepherd is dependent, or the king of the country). The hero who passes the trial sometimes gains a higher status (a wise peasant girl becomes a master's wife/ a shepherd or a youngster of a humble background may marry a princess – AT 850, 860A*, 875). Quite often, however, the hero's social status remains the same as before. For example, a shepherd who never lies (AT 889) passes the trial successfully (he gives the master true information), though he simply helps his master to win a wager. A clever boy demonstrates his ability to describe precisely the actions of his relatives by means of a metaphoric language. He appears to have more advantages over the master who is not capable of understanding this language.

In two tales the status of the hero and his antipode is not defined. A daughter and a son are put to trial while their fathers act as their antipodes. In the tale *The Punished Seducer* (AT 883B) the girls who fail the trial are disgraced; in the tale *The Misunderstood Advice*³ (AT 915A) the son who cannot understand his father's teachings becomes a pauper. In the tale *The Clever Girl and Matchmakers* (AT 876) a girl of an unknown social background demonstrates to strangers her good knowledge about things and phenomena. An older matchmaker appreciates the girl's wisdom and advises the young man to marry her. Thus the girl can get into another social group due to her new marital status.

In some novelle tales, both the tester and the testee are young but of different status (e.g. a princess tests her would-be bridegroom). In the tale *The Patient Wife* (AT 887) the heroine's status changes (a poor girl marries a rich man); then she is put to a long and severe trial. The wife has to suffer difficulties for as long as her husband chooses. Only after the successful trial is she acknowledged as an equal member of the family.

An old man of lower social status is frequently on trial in novelle

³The titles of AT types are formulated by the author.

tales. Such cases are rare in fairy-tales. For example, the fairy-tale *The Magician's Pupil* (AT 325) relates of the trial of a father who endeavours to get back his son. In two variants of the tale *Presents of Frost* (AT 480) the testees are two old women. In the novelle tales, the old age of the hero is deliberately emphasised against the youth of the antipode (a king/ a master/ a priest) who has a higher status; in other cases his age is not described at all. Sometimes the hero's superiority is obvious: he seizes the opportunity that opens to him and receives a reward for solving riddles.

A completely new type of relationship between the characters occurs in those novelle tales, where the antipode is unaware of the true social status of the hero being tested, or where the hero himself does not know it. In the tale *The Prince and the Smith's Son* (AT 920) a boy of a low social background is tried by the king, but later on he is identified as the king's son. In the tale *The Changed Arrogant Princess* (AT 900) a woman thinks that she has a low status and marries a pauper. A successful trial reveals her high status. In the tale *The King and the Parson* (AT 922) a young or an old shepherd is put to a trial, and the king mistakes him for a master or an abbot. When the hero finally tells the truth, the king reverses the status of the tested man and that of the man who had escaped the trial.

Thus the difference in the hero's and his antipode's status is of great importance in the elementary plots of novelle tales, while that in age is not as crucial as in fairy-tales. Apart from the attempts to gain a higher social position, the hero also wants to show off his wisdom and thus feel superior to the antipode who has a higher status.

The semantic pairs of positive and negative elementary plots relating of the trials frequently appear in one and the same tale and provide a possibility to compare the correct and incorrect behaviour of two tested heroes under the same circumstances. In Lithuanian fairy-tales the simple structure of the second type where one hero fails the trial and the other one succeeds is fairly rare, whereas the simple structure of the third type (the first hero completes the task and the second one fails) is quite frequent. Both simple structures exemplify the correct and incorrect behaviour. This possibility is provided very rarely in novelle tales, where usually only positive or sometimes only negative elementary plot is the main element of the plot structure. Only in the tale *The Pun-*

ished *Seducer* (AT 883B) do we find a simple structure of the second type. The king tells his daughters not to soil their dresses, to take care of the flowers so that they would bloom and the bird so that it would sing. The elder daughters fail to do so. These elementary plots contain other elementary plots about princesses who are visited by a prince. They play cards with him and if they lose the game they will have to sleep with him. The third daughter loses the game, but she throws the prince into the cellar. The story further relates of the third sister who marries the prince, the seducer of her sisters, in order to take revenge. These inserted elementary plots focus on the relationship of the young people, but the elementary plot *The hero demonstrates that he does not follow the antipode's rules* and its semantic pair *The hero demonstrates that he follows the antipode's rules* make up the macrostructure of the novelle tale, and the positive elementary plot is the main element in the plot structure.

In conclusion, the elementary plots centred on the trials and the traditional way of joining two elementary plots are used in novelle tales for the demonstration of the inventiveness and quick wits of the heroes rather than for imposing the rules of behaviour on the audience.

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The Main Riddles, Questions, Allegories and Tasks in AT 875, 920, 921, 922 and 927

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1. The general background: riddle motifs and their frequencies

A. Questions including superlatives primarily typical of AT 875

In AT 875 the questions are mostly induced by the incident where a poor man finds a golden mortar in his field and takes it to the king, or by the quarrel between two peasants (often because the poor man's cow has gone into the rich man's field). The judge asks them a number of questions. The rich man does not answer them correctly (W: in the following), and the poor man, advised by his clever daughter, answers them correctly (R:). The most productive questions are the following (frequency data are provided by de Vries):

What is the swiftest? — 56 var.

W: horse, dog, or some other animal; R: thought, eyes, sun, wind, etc.

What is the fattest ~ richest ~ strongest? — 78 var.

W: pig, pork, our horse, myself, etc.; R: earth ~ soil, less frequently also: good deeds, honesty, God, rain, etc.

What is the sweetest? — 59 var.

W: honey, sugar, or some other food; wife, daughter, or child; R: sleep, sometimes also celestial peace, bread, love, etc.

What (Who) is the strongest? — 8 var.

W: ox, bear or some other animal; R: horse, God, autumn, weather, world.

What is the softest? — 7 var.

W: feather-bed; R: hand.

What is the brightest ~whitest? — 12 var.

W: milk, snow, etc.; R: sun, day, lightning, etc.

What sounds most beautifully? — 10 var.

W: money, gold, etc.; R: God's word, thunder, church bell, etc.

Some less frequent questions:

What is the deepest? W: sea; R: heart.

What is the highest? W: church-tower; R: sky, moon and stars.

What is the longest? W: the way through my fields; R: path of life.

What is the hardest? W: stone; R: death.

What is the most lovely ~ dear ~...? W: chair, good life, etc.; R: one's own child, health, life, etc.

What is the most beautiful? R: spring.

What is the richest? R: autumn.

B. The series of allegoric answers (particularly to questions about what the parents and relatives are doing)

The chain of events in AT 875 as well as in AT 921 can include the link where the king, nobleman or some person of high standing comes into a poor man's hut, finds there a clever boy or girl, and begins to question him or her: *What are you doing?*; *What is your father doing?*; *What is your mother doing?*; *What is your brother doing?*; *What is your sister doing?*, etc., and he/she answers the questions with sophisticated allegories. The main motifs are the following:

What are you doing? — The dominating answer:

I am boiling those going up and down (i.e. peas); there is also a number of occasional answers.

What is your father doing? — The most frequent answers:

- 1) *He is increasing losses* (i.e. making a fence or digging a ditch round the field to keep out animals, but soon they will find a new access anyway);
- 2) *He is doing much from little* (i.e. sowing or fishing);
- 3) *He is bettering what is good ~ is surrounding the good with the better* (i.e. is building a fence round the rye field);
- 4) *He is paying a debt beforehand* (i.e. cutting firewood for the next year);
- 5) *He went for a ride on a legless horse* (i.e. boat); only in Estonian variants.

What is your mother doing? — Answers include the following motifs:

- 1) *She is doing for another person what he cannot do for himself* (i.e. undressing the deceased ~ closing his eyes);
- 2) *She is showing daylight* (i.e. giving birth) *to somebody*;
- 3) *She is baking eaten bread* (i.e. in order to pay back the borrowed bread);
- 4) *She is twisting ~ walking the grey* (i.e. grinding on the hand-mill); only in Finnish variants;
- 5) *She is doing the better from the good ~ puts the better on the good* (i.e. making the butter from cream ~ buttering the pork fat); only in Estonian variants.

What is your brother doing? — Answers include the following allegories:

- 1) *He has gone hunting; he throws away the game he catches, and brings home the game he does not catch* (i.e. killing lice or fleas);
- 2) *He is walking to and fro* (i.e. ploughing or harrowing);
- 3) *He is sitting between the earth and sky* (i.e. in the tree);
- 4) *He is laughing at former pains* (i.e. reaping, or drinking spirits made of corn); only in Finnish variants;
- 5) *He is going a long way* (i.e. is a soldier or ploughing); only in Estonian variants;
- 6) *He is riding on a he-goat* (i.e. bench) *and eating the trembling* (i.e. sour flammery).

What is your sister doing? — Some of the most typical answers:

- 1) *She is crying the yesteryear laugh* (i.e. nursing a baby);
- 2) *She is showing her back ~ bottom to the wind* (i.e. reaping, or spreading manure); predominantly in Estonian variants.

In Estonian variants of AT 920 and 921 the two following allegoric answers are also rather productive:

If they come then they won't come, but if they don't come then they will come (that is, if the birds do come then the sown peas won't come, and v.v.);

I am letting the old off, putting the new upon and fighting with foreign troops (i.e. shitting, eating and hunting fleas simultaneously).

C. Tasks involving incompatible preconditions

The king tells the clever girl or boy to come to him, giving them two contradicting (pre)conditions simultaneously. As de Vries asserts, these tasks are mainly found in types AT 875 and 921, less in 920; the numerical data in the list of tasks below are also summed up from de Vries's work.

Coming neither dressed nor naked (The main solution: comes wrapped in a net; other solutions: in very sheer clothes; wrapped in her own hair; partly dressed, partly naked).

AT 875 — 138 var.; AT 921 — 119 var.; AT 920 — 18 var.

Coming neither riding ~ on horseback nor on foot (The main solution: comes riding on a he-goat, pig or other animal not used for riding; other solutions: with an animal between her legs, but walking on her own feet; with one leg across an animal's back, and walking on the other leg; hanging on an animal's tail; on a sledge drawn by an animal; on a hobby-horse).

AT 875 — 131 var.; AT 921 — 132 var.; AT 920 — 3 var.

Coming neither on nor off the road (Solutions: comes along the rut or ditch).

AT 875 — 42 var.; AT 921 — 116 var.; AT 920 — 11 var.

Standing neither inside nor outside of the door (The solution: forefeet of he-goat or other animal inside, hind feet outside).

AT 875 — 10 var.; AT 921 — 152 var.; AT 920 — 11 var.

Coming neither shod nor barefoot (Solutions: with one shoe on, the other off; shod in something unusual, e.g. brushes, sieves, or the like).

AT 875 — 11 var.; AT 921 — 17 var.; AT 920 — 1 var.

Coming neither by day nor by night (Solutions: at twilight, midnight, etc.).

AT 875 — 47 var.; AT 921 — 39 var.; AT 920 — 3 var.

Coming neither with a present nor without it (Solutions: brings a bird, hare, or other animal: it flies or runs away).

AT 875 — 46 var.; AT 921 — 10 var.; AT 920 — 5 var.

Coming neither satiated nor hungry (Solutions: eats gruel ~ sour flammery ~ crayfish ~..., or comes with a green leaf in her mouth, or with a piece of bread under her tongue).

AT 875 — 15 var.; AT 921 — 12 var.; AT 920 — 4 var.

Coming neither washed nor unwashed (Solutions: washes a half of her face, or only her neck, or the like).

All in all 7 var.

Besides, one can come across in AT 875 and 920 impossible tasks and counter-tasks which are altogether not meant to be fulfilled, but just to give a didactical lesson to somebody. These tasks are often based on stereotypical absurdities occurring in many different folklore genres of many different peoples.

Weaving cloth from two threads ~ a silk shirt from wool, etc.;

Milking a bull;

Making a bull bear a calf;

Making a rope of sand;

Hatching chickens from boiled eggs;

Getting crop from cooked seeds;

Selling a sheep and bringing it back along with the money, etc., etc.

D. Some questions typical of AT 922

In AT 922, the one who should answer the questions (and whom the asker takes him for) and the one who actually does answer are not one and the same person. The person asking the questions is usually a "high-high" person (the king or the like), the supposed but substituted an-

swerer is a "middle-high" person (usually an abbot or some other clergyman), and the actual answerer is a "low" person (usually a miller, shepherd, cook, sexton, or the like). Let us list some questions and answers that are most specific to AT 922 (the productivity data being summed up from Anderson's monograph):

How high is heaven? ~How far is the sky from the earth? — 136 var.:

- 1) [A random number is said]: *if you don't believe, measure yourself— 15 var.*
- 2) *As long as the thread in the woolball which I brought with me: if you don't believe... — 13 var.*
- 3) *One day's journey* (i.e. the time Christ needed to go to heaven) — 19 var.
- 4) *One day's journey* (since there is nowhere to stay overnight) — 10 var.
- 5) *One moment — 9 var.*
- 6) *As far as the earth is from heaven — 8 var.*
- 7) *Not too far: when it thunders, one can hear it — 21 var.*
- 8) *A calf's tail if it were long enough — 8 var.*
- 9) *One foot* (as a reference to Isaiah 66,1) — 14 var.

How deep is the sea? — 75 var.:

- 1) *One stone's throw* (the dominating answer) — 66 var.
- 2) [A random number is said] *~ as the height of the highest mountain: if you don't believe... — 2 var., and other occasional answers.*

How much water is there in the sea? — 32 var.:

- 1) *First stop all the rivers flowing into it, then I can measure— 15 var.*
- 2) [A random number is said]: *if you don't believe, measure yourself — 3 var.*
- 3) *One tub ~ barrel ~... if it were big enough — 10 var., and other occasional answers.*

How deep is the earth? ~ How far is the centre of the earth? — 24 var.:

- 1) *It is deep: my grandfather went there many years ago and has not yet come back — 18 var.*
- 2) *My father went to measure it 5 years ago: when he returns, we will*

know — 4 var., and other occasional answers.

How much does the earth weigh? — 4 var.:

First remove all the stones from it, then I can answer.

How wide is the earth ~ world? — 116 var.:

- 1) [Most of the answers refer to the sun, e.g.:] *One day's journey ~ 24 hours if you are sitting on the sun ~ Ask it from the sun, or the like.*
- 2) [A random number is said]: *if you don't believe, measure yourself* — 1 var., and other occasional answers.

Where is the centre ~ pole of the earth? — 115 var.:

[The dominating answer:] *Just here (if you don't believe...) ~ since the earth is round, etc.*

How many stars are there in the sky ~ heaven? — 98 var.:

- 1) [A random number is said]: *if you don't believe, count yourself* — 48 var.
- 2) *As many as there are sandgrains: if you don't believe, count yourself* — 4 var.
- 3) *As many as hairs on the head: if you don't believe... — 24 var.*
- 4) *As many as points on this paper: if you don't believe... — 12 var.*
- 5) *As many as groats in this sack ~ as there are seeds in a pound of poppies — 2 var., and other occasional answers.*

How much does the moon weigh? — 25 var.:

- 1) *One pound, since it has 4 quarters — 21 var.*
- 2) [A random number is said]: *if you don't believe, weigh yourself* — 7 var.
- 3) *The full moon has the full weight, the half-moon the half, and so on — 2 var.*

How many leaves are on the tree? — 6 var.:

- 1) *As many as stalks — 5 var.*
- 2) [A random number is said]: *if you don't believe, count yourself* — 1 var.

How much does the smoke of burned wood weigh? — 7 var.:

- 1) *First weigh the wood, then coals and ashes, and find the difference — 5 var.*

- 2) [A random number is said]: *if you don't believe, weigh yourself* — 2 var.

How much is the golden plough ~ my golden throne ~ golden crown ~ my beard worth? — 26 var.:

It is worth a torrent of rain in May (or other motifs referring to the rain).

The same also in AT 875, 981*, 920, etc.

How much am I worth? — 248 var.:

- 1) *29 pieces of silver* (because Christ was sold for 30) — 220 var.

- 2) *the icon ("God") costs 5 copecks, therefore 4½ copecks* — 21 var., and other occasional answers.

What is God doing? — 12 var.:

- 1) *Abasing the high ones and exalting the low ones* — 1 var.

- 2) *Paying to the good ones and punishing the guilty ones* — 1 var., and other occasional answers.

How far is happiness from unhappiness? — 27 var.:

One night: yesterday I was a shepherd, today an abbot — 21 var., and other occasional answers which often refer to the changed position of the person who answers the question.

What am I thinking about? — 303 var.:

- 1) *You are thinking that I am..., but in fact I am...* — 276 var.

- 2) *You are thinking that this or that gave you not a single stupid answer, but actually I am somebody else* — 4 var., and other occasional answers.

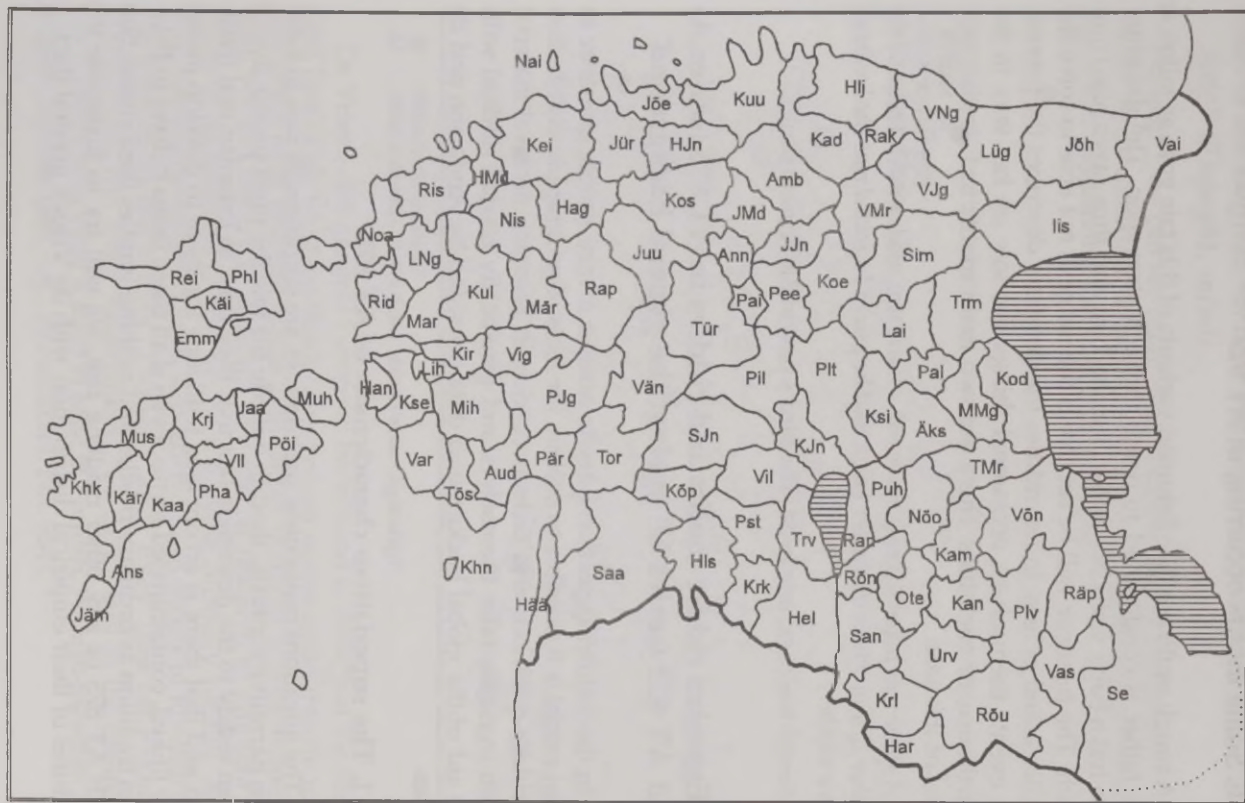
This is also the most frequently asked question which also leads to the point of the tale AT 922.

A reference to Christ's life is rather frequent in AT 922 as well as in the rest of the riddle-tales. In South-Estonian tales, some specific motifs are found which use Christ's poetical synonyms *bread, way, and water*:

When was bread hungry? (Christ when he asked bread from a widow);

When was the way tired? (Christ when going to Golgotha);

When was the water thirsty? (Christ on the cross).



Estonian parishes (abbreviations)

E. Some motifs occurring in AT 927

A rough outline of the Estonian variants of this tale goes as follows. The father is condemned to death through starvation. The daughter who has a baby visits her father, suckles him and thus saves him from death. The prisoner will be set free if the judge is not able to solve the riddles asked of him. In her riddles the daughter describes the preceding events themselves, occasional things she saw on her way to the courthouse, or such-like. There are two main motifs in Estonian versions of this tale:

A stone was taken to the (farm)yard, a heart was made into it. I became the mother to him whose daughter I was, and he whom I suckled was the husband of my mother;

Seven tongues, one head (The bird's nest in the horse's skull).

2. Estonian riddle motifs and riddles in AT 875 (series A) and AT 922 (series D) against the general background

In the following section I try to answer a very simple question: to what extent is it possible to explain the facts of geographic distribution of riddle-questions and tasks occurring in Estonian archival material (both in riddle tales themselves and genetically related riddles) with the aid of the global background data provided by Anderson and de Vries.

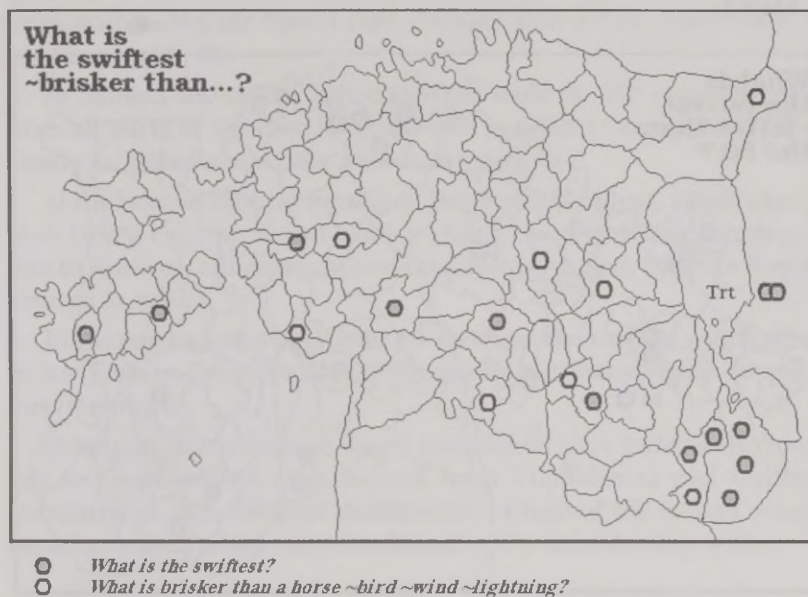
1. The superlatives characteristic of AT 875

The questions containing superlatives are surprisingly rare in Estonian narrative contexts, though outside the tale the most productive of them testify to the doubtless fact that they exist in Estonian oral tradition and that there is an obvious tendency for them to develop mutually linked, contaminated forms. Even if all these items behave in Estonian tradition as ordinary riddles and nothing implies their connection with AT 875 or any other riddling tale, we will try to juxtapose the pictures of their empirical distribution with de Vries's general data.

What is the swiftest ~brisker than a horse ~bird ~wind ~lightning? (Thought, mind)

On map 1 we can see quite clear "broadly Southern-Estonian" picture of distribution *in toto* and somewhat more restricted and accented one when considering just superlative forms.

Map 1



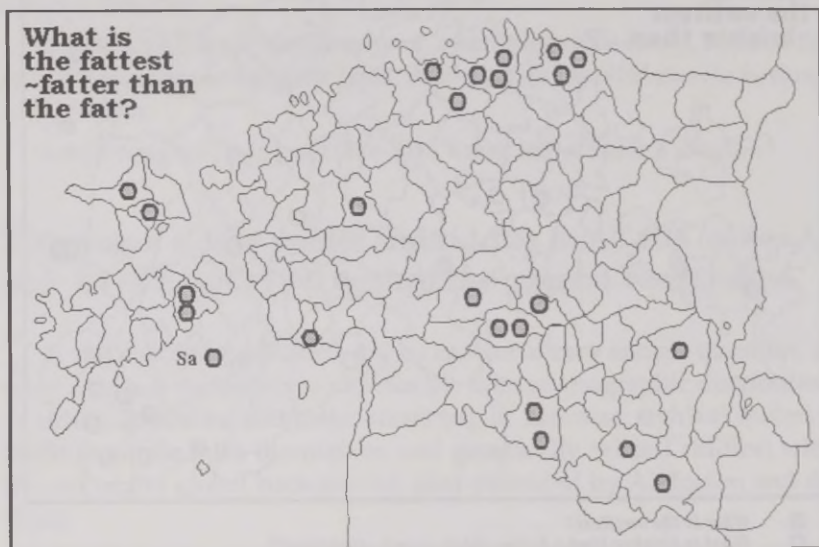
De Vries's (69) general European background is wide, but the Slavic (and first of all Western-Slavic) component seems undoubtedly to be prevailing in it, and the scarce Lithuanian material is represented as well. We did not try to perform any special research to pinpoint the limits of distribution of this or the following ordinary riddles. Anyway, this riddle-question in its superlative form occurs in Russian riddle sources in the senses 'Thought' and 'Eyes' (see for example Mitrofanova, No. 1594; Sadovnikov, No. 2416), and in the comparative form (*brisker than a bird*) at least in Finnish, Finnish-Swedish and English sources (see, e.g., *Arvoitukset*, No. 964).

What is the fattest ~fatter than the fat? (The soil, earth)

The picture of empiric distribution of this riddle in Estonia reveals three probable separate areas — see map 2:

- a) the northern coastal area;
- b) Western Estonia, including the isles;
- c) Southern Estonia.

Map 2



As to the European background (de Vries, 75), its Germanic (including Scandinavian) and Slavic constituents are the strongest. I did not find this riddle in the Finnish collection, but it does occur in Russian sources (e.g. Sadovnikov, No. 2359; Mitrofanova, No. 1934). Maybe, then, Estonian nests of distribution represent different directions in natural folklore borrowing (from Finns, Swedes, also Baltic and Slavic influences).

What is the sweetest ~sweeter than honey?

In the general tradition field of AT 875 the Germanic and Slavic dominants are quite evident again (see de Vries, 79). As a separate riddle, this item is very old and wide-spread as well (e.g., in Russian — see Mitrofanova, Nos. 1598–1599 ('Sleep') and 1327 ('Mother's milk'); in Finnish — see *Arvoitukset*, No. 632, where references to Latvian, Swedish and other parallels are also provided). Very frequently the riddle is contaminated with various other stereotypes in comparative form, such as *blacker than a coal, stronger than a lion ~bear, more liquid than water*, etc.

In Estonia the riddle is represented with ca. 160 archive records from all parts of the land. I would like to point to some more or less clearly localized contaminations — see map 3:

a) the famous biblical form (see *The Book of Judges*, 14,18) *sweeter than honey + stronger than a lion* is clearly Southern-Estonian, may-be due to Russian influences; in any case, this form does occur in Russian sources as well;

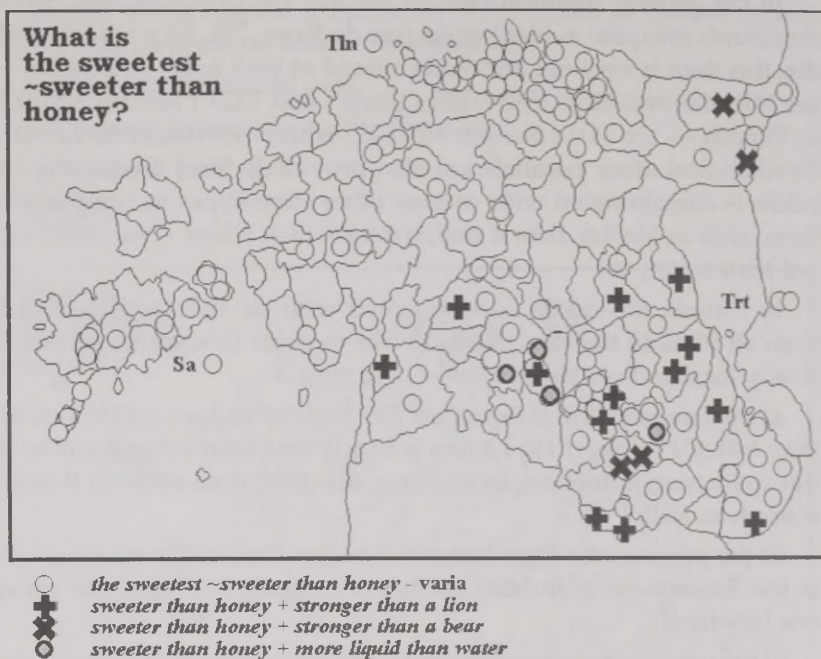
b) the pair *sweeter than honey + stronger than a bear* which occurs in few Eastern-Estonian texts (perhaps 'domesticated' from the previous *lion*-form);

c) the pair *sweeter than honey + more liquid than water* is also southern and represented with records from Viljandimaa and Southern Tartumaa; in fact, the total distribution picture of the second component (separately or in other combinations) is considerably wider.

What is the softest ~softer than a pillow?

Obviously, the geographically (read: genetically) relevant distinction is hidden in two most frequent solutions of this riddle — 'The hand' and 'Mother's lap ~knees ~breast'. The first solution — as in AT 875 (see de Vries, 87) and in ordinary riddles — seems to prevail in Slavic tradition (cf. Mitrofanova, No. 1569) and the second in Western Europe (cf. *Arvoitukset*, No. 728 and the references to Swedish and Finnish-Swedish sources *ibidem*), though in Mitrofanova (No. 1327) we also find the solution 'Mother's milk'.

Map 3



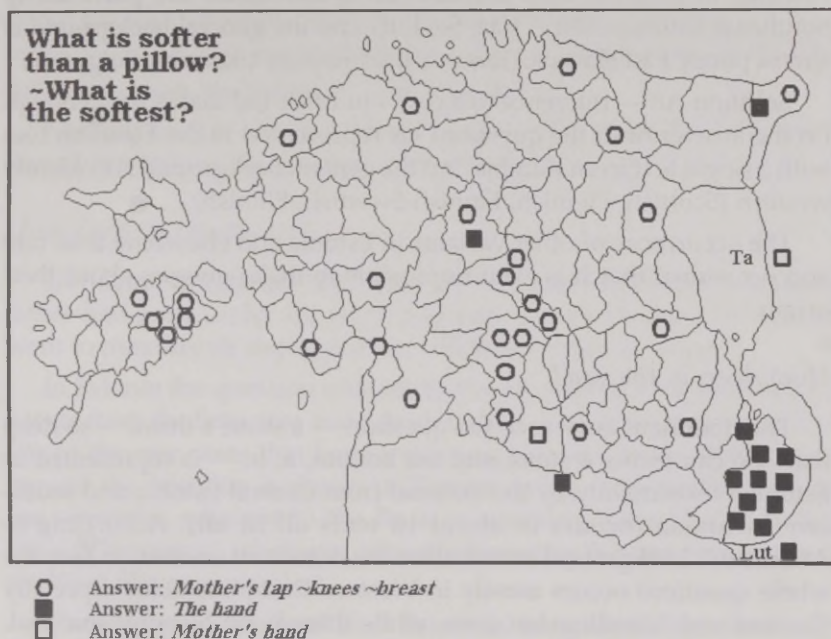
In the Estonian records of this riddle the geographic collocation of these two answers is extremely vivid — see map 4.

2. The riddle-questions in AT 922

How high is the sky? ~ How far from the earth is the sky?

Solution A1 — mention of any optional number + suggestion to check it out: the Estonian distribution originates from the southern part of Tartumaa (Nõo, Ran), but the general background is of Remmel's (18–19) "Something is everywhere" type (Italian, German, Lithuanian, Russian, Finnish, Chuvash). Anderson (139) also says that this is the *locus communis* of AT 922, the general stereotype which is involved in the answers to several different questions and cannot be studied with geographical methods.

Map 4



Solution A3 — 1~3 days' journey, and allusions to Christ and Elijah – is also represented in Estonia by South Estonian material mostly (Vil, Ote, Vas, Urv), but the general background is sparsely all-European (Romanian, German, Finnish-Swedish, Polish, Slovak, Slovene, Finnish). According to Anderson (126), the question first appeared in a German text 1548, then in a Slovakian text in 1791; Anderson believes that the original source of the answer was the German linguistic area, wherefrom it later spread in all directions.

Solution A5 — 1 moment ~ as far as your eyes can see – occurs in 2 North Estonian texts (Kuu, Mär), may be a borrowing from German or Finnish, since the general background is unexceptionally western: (French, Walloon, German, Finnish-Swedish, Finnish); Slavonic material is non-existent altogether.

Solution A7 — the sky is not far: you can hear when it thunders, and other indirect allusions to thunder and rain may be Russian borrowings in Estonia; their distribution is East Estonian, particularly Southeast Estonian (Nrv, Vas, Se, Lut) and the general background is almost purely East Slavonic (Russian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian).

Solution A8 — reference to a cow's or calf's tail that is long enough (in the answer or in the question) - is represented in the Estonian files with a single text from Kambja, but the general background is evidently western (Scottish, Flemish, Finnish-Swedish, Finnish).

The occurrence of other variants in Estonia and elsewhere is so rare and occasional that it is even impossible to make guesses about their origin.

How deep is the sea?

The dominant answer to the question — a stone's throw ~ so deep that one can throw a stone into the bottom, a. o. — is represented in Estonian texts mainly by the material from Central Estonia and southern Tartumaa (occurs in about 10 texts all in all). According to Anderson's background information the dominant answer (in fact, the whole question) occurs mostly in Western European texts, especially German and Scandinavian ones, while there is no Slavonic material. Anderson (132–133) believes that it has come into the Kashubian, Polish, Danish and Estonian texts as a borrowing from German, and its distribution background does not prove otherwise.

In Estonia this set of question and answer has been propagated by *Pärno Eesti-rahwa Kalender* 1879 (7), where it was published as an independent riddle-question (evidently translated from German).

How many drops of water are there in the sea?

Occurs in 5 Estonian texts only (Trm, Trt, Nõo, San/Rõn and in a text of unknown origin recorded by M. J. Eisen); the localisation of texts in East Estonia is obviously occasional. The dominant answer — first block off all rivers that flow into the sea, so I can measure the depth — is represented by 3 of the Estonian texts.

In the context of AT 922 the question is of remarkably wide distribution and occurs frequently in whole Western Europe, but Anderson

(137–139) considers it about to fall into oblivion, in fact almost extinct: its occurrence in early sources is much higher than in the latest ones; the German knowledge of it has apparently been upheld by printed sources (*Eulenspiegelbuch* and fairy-tales of the Grimm brothers). The unit is especially ancient as the independent riddle (with its dominant solution), being mentioned by Plutarch already.

Nothing certain can be said about the origin of the Estonian texts (but cf. the note to the question *How long is eternity?*).

How deep is the earth?

The dominant answer says that 7 ~75 ~... years ago father or grandfather had gone under the earth and has not yet returned, or that he went to measure its depth and we will know when he returns.

In Estonia the question with its dominant answer is represented by 3 texts from the Setu area and 1 from Ludza, and at the same time it is one of the rare cases that have a clear explanation. In its global background the question is clearly of Russian origin, and familiar also in the territories adjacent to the Russian-speaking areas (Baltic, Balto-Finnic, Caucasian), whereas it is hardly known in Western Europe (incl. the West Slavonic peoples).

Consequently, the Southeast Estonian occurrences are obviously borrowings from Russian.

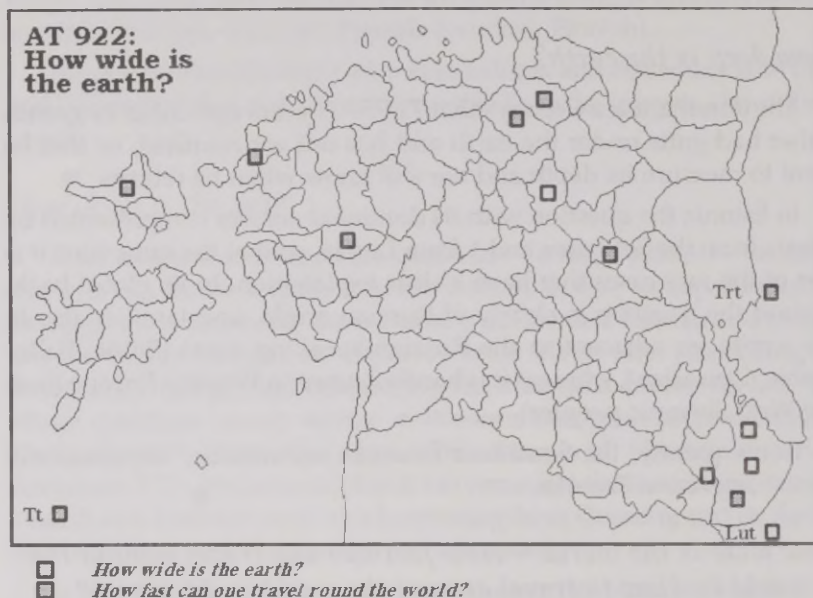
How wide is the world ~ How fast can one travel around the world (~ How to travel around the world in 24 hours)?

This is represented in about 10 Estonian texts which mostly represent the dominant answer, i.e. different variants involving the sun.

The question occurs in sources as early as in the 13th c., and on the global scale it is one of the most productive questions of AT 922, being represented in most of the European languages. Anderson (150 ff.) considers the formulation of the question very important, i.e. whether it speaks about the **width** of the world or about travelling **around the world**: the first represents the idea that the earth has the shape of a disk and occurs in comparatively earlier sources; the second represents the idea of a spherical earth and the sources where it occurs are, on the average, late. Moreover, from Anderson's list of distribution of the re-

spective formulations of the question (146–147) it is clear that the version *How wide is the world?* of the first formulation occurs predominantly among East Slavonic peoples, especially Russians, and their adjacent Balto-Finnic peoples, while the version *How far is it from the east to the west?* occurs only among Swedes and Finns.

Map 5



The Estonian material in its distribution chart, however sparse (see map 5), implies that the question *How wide is the world?* occurs mainly in Southeast Estonian texts (San/Rõn, Vas, Se, Lut) and could therefore be interpreted as a Russian borrowing; while the question *How fast can one travel around the world?* is represented chiefly by North-Estonian and, in particular, North-western Estonian material (Kad, Amb, Vig, Noa, Rei, Pal, Trt, but also Se) and could perhaps be treated as a borrowing from Finnish or Swedish.

Where is the centre of the world?

The question with its dominant answer — right here where I am standing, if you don't believe me, go on, measure it off, etc. — is perhaps the most widespread of all questions of AT 922, and it occurs in several old (13–16th c.) texts.

There are 8 Estonian texts and their distribution is fairly sporadic (VJg, Rei, Sa, Vän, Trv, Kõp, Ran, Tln and Trt). It is not easy to find a reasonable explanation. Anderson (161–162) considers the typical associations of this question with others very heuristic. Specifically, there are 2 characteristic associations:

a) typically oriental association *Where is the centre of the world?* + *What is the price of the King?* + *What am I thinking?* and

b) typically western European (originally French) association *Where is the centre of the world?* + *How many stars are there in the sky?* + *What am I thinking?*

Unfortunately, even that background information provides no support to throw light on the origin of the Estonian texts: it is impossible to find any trace of such associations here.

How many stars are there in the sky?

The question is one of the oldest in AT 922; according to Anderson (170 ff.), it is clearly of oriental origin and very widespread in Europe as well; but again the Eastern European (notably East Slavonic) dominant is plainly discernible.

The question occurs in the Estonian archive material at least in 10 cases — incl. 9 narratives and once as an independent riddle-question. By chance, all texts happen to be from the districts of Viru and Tartu, that is, from the eastern part of Estonia, and as regards answers all prevalent variants are represented:

a) the dominant answer, mentioning any optional large number (Anderson's H3), is so ubiquitous, that Anderson does not even care to analyse it (in Estonia 1 case from Hlj, 1 from Nõo and 1 from Trt);

b) *As many as grains of sand by the sea* (H1), an analogue of which can be found in the Bible (e.g. Psalms 78,27; 139,18), occurs in 1 Estonian (San/Rõn) text, as well as 1 German and 1 Finnish-Swedish one, and in

the ancient text of the Arabian historian Ibn Abdulhakam (about 850 AD — see Anderson, 171);

c) *As many as hairs on your head* (H2), which as Anderson says (171) has displaced the previous, earlier variant at first in the Orient and then in the whole area of distribution; in Estonia 1 text from Nõo;

d) *As many as dots on the paper* (H3), which according to Anderson (172) goes back to the fairy tales of the brothers Grimm; in Estonia in 1 text from TMr and in M. J. Eisen's note of unknown origin (see also commentary to the question *How long is eternity?*).

With this background information, I risk no suggestion about the genesis of the Estonian texts and their seeming eastern distribution.

What is the weight of the moon?

The dominant answer is based on the ratio of pound and four quarters. According to Anderson's (174–175) information the whole occurrence is relatively recent, being not earlier than the 19th c., and its distribution is clearly Western European (French, Portuguese, Czech, English, German, Danish, Finnish, Estonian). Relying on productivity indices Anderson regards France to be the original home of the question, from where it later spread into Germany, and these two seats have then procreated the whole other circulation.

The Estonian occurrence within the framework of AT 922 is limited to 3 texts (Pai, Jür and one late note dating 1935 from Urvaste). If, as far as Estonia is concerned, borrowing from Germans is the only way to explain the origin of this question, this may really have been the case. But here a magnifying factor may also have been the occurrence of this set of question and answer as an independent riddle-question in Estonian printed sources, the earliest of which is *Isamaa Kalender* 1879 (65 and 69), which has produced a considerable amount of non-authentic archive texts.

What is the price of the golden plough ~ golden throne ~ King's crown?

The predominant answer of the question implies the agricultural importance of rain in spring. The couple is a relatively late constituent of AT 922 and occurs among several Western European nations, being

particularly productive among Danes, but also other Scandinavian nations, as well as Finns, Hungarians, Germans, Romanians, Serbo-Croatians. However, its overall occurrence is not limited to AT 922 only: it can be found in other riddle-tales (AT 875, 920), as well as in AT 981*, and as an independent joke known world-wide incl. in Estonia, which seems to have no AT type number as yet. Spring rain has also been likened to various precious objects in the proverbs of different nations (incl. Finnish and Estonian — e.g. see *Vanhat merkkipäivät*, 212, 222, 233; *Eesti vanasõnad* No. 2321, 3677, 6070, 14044, 14063).

What is my price ~ How much does the King ~... cost?

The question is the second most frequent among those in AT 922, and the dominant answer refers to Christ's betrayal for 30 shekels: the most usual price is 29 monetary units. According to Anderson's estimations (p. 198) the question is one of the oldest in AT 922. It is of world-wide distribution, found also in many Asian texts.

In Estonian texts the question occurs in 18 cases (incl. once as an independent riddle-question), and its distribution corresponds roughly to Remmel's (21) "Periphery has — no in the middle" type:

- 1) Viru-Järva-Harju seat (Hlj, VJg, Amb, Kuu);
- 2) Western seat (2 Vig, Sa);
- 3) South-Estonian seat (Vil, Kõp, 3 Trt, 3 Nõo, Urv, Krl (as riddle-question), Vas, Se).

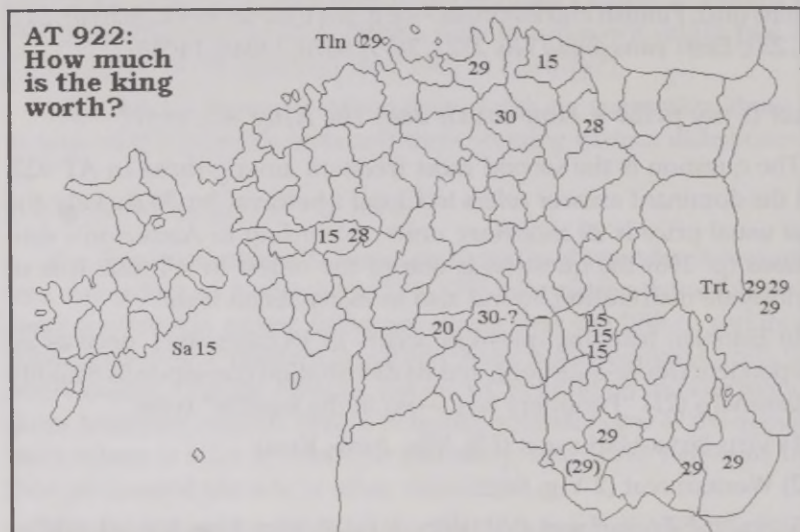
This description may lead us to the conclusion that the first seat represents Finnish and/or German borrowings (there are, after all, other traits of western origin in the relevant chains of questions), while the Southeast Estonian occurrences represent Russian borrowings. However, the information at my disposal allows for no certain proof. Anyway, Anderson's marginal (194), that of the most typical exceptions to the dominant number 29, 15 is especially common in Eastern Europe, while 28 is common in Western Europe, gives no clue to their origin — see map 6.

What am I thinking? ~ What is the King thinking? a. o.

According to Anderson's information (224) the question is not very old (the earliest text 1526), but it has spread fast and become the most

frequent question in AT 922, being the last one in the texts where it occurs and thus introducing the thematic point of the narrative. Most of the answers given by Anderson are actually variants of the same solution.

Map 6



[Figures denote the number of silver coins ~roubles ~...]

There are about 20 Estonian texts where the question occurs, and their distribution leaves the impression of two central locales:

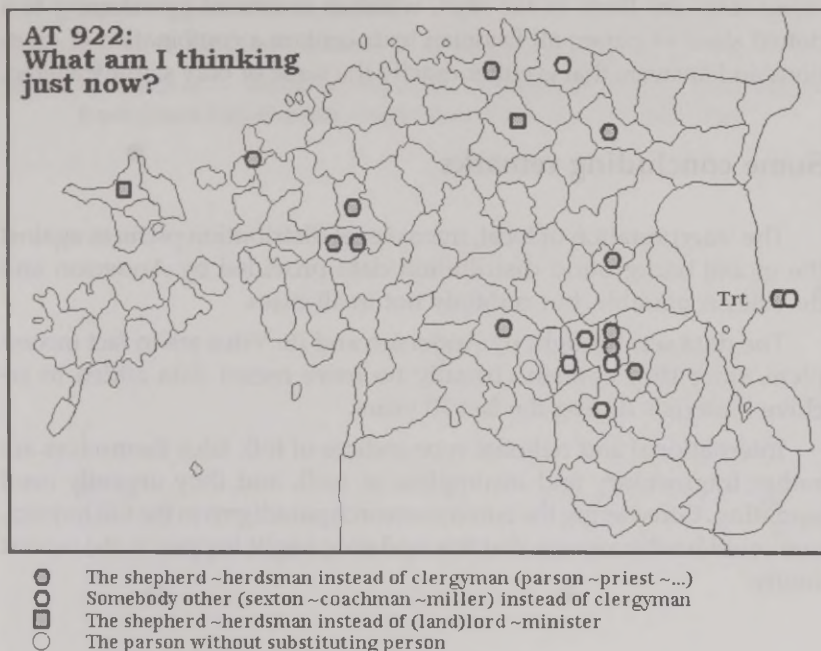
1) Northern-north-western (Hlj, VJg, Amb, Kuu, Mär, 2 Vig, Noa, Rei) and

2) the areas around Lake Võrtsjärv and between Lake Peipsi and Võrtsjärv (Trv, Vil, Pal, TMr, Trt, Kam, 3 Nõo, Puh, Ran, Ote) — see map 7.

In South Estonian texts the priest is often replaced by a worldly lord (landowner, minister, prince). I dare not guess whether the above-mentioned centres are illusions, resulting from mere coincidences, and whether the configurations of protagonists have any explanation.

How long is eternity? ~ How many seconds are there in the eternity?

Map 7



The question occurs only on 6 occasions in Anderson's material (Flemish, Danish, Finnish-Swedish, Norwegian and Estonian texts) and in 3 texts in our material (TMr, San/Rön and M. J. Eisen's note of unknown origin). Anderson (232) reduces the question entirely to the influence of the Grimm brothers' text (No. 152). This is probably the case with all Estonian texts, whatever their immediate sources. The Grimms' (KHM, 78) answer to the question is as follows: "*In Hinterpommern liegt der Demantberg, der hat eine Stunde in die Höhe, eine Stunde in die Breite und eine Stunde in die Tiefe; dahin kommt alle hundert Jahre ein Vögelein und wetzt sein Schnäbelein daran, und wenn der ganze Berg abgewetzt ist, dann ist die erste Sekunde der Ewigkeit vorbei.*"

The Estonian answers are certainly variants to the same. Moreover, it is the 3rd question in the Grimm brothers' text, with the preceding *How many drops of water are there in the sea?*, retorted by the demand to block in the first place all rivers flowing to the sea, and *How many stars are there in the sky?*, which is answered by referring to a dotted sheet of paper; all Estonian texts contain a combination of questions and answers that is either exactly the same or only slightly altered.

Some concluding remarks

The interpretation of local, micro-level distribution pictures against the global background distribution data provided by Anderson and de Vries is possible, but certainly not in all cases.

The data sets brought by Anderson and de Vries are in fact incomplete, since they contain virtually no more recent data added to archive materials during the last 70 years.

International and national type-indices of folk tales themselves are rather fragmentary and incomplete as well, and they urgently need updating. Considering the current research paradigms in the folkloristics, one could hardly assume that this updating might happen in the nearest future.

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Flying Carpets and Talking Heads: the Elements of Fantasy and "Science Fiction" in 1001 Night Stories

Mikko Hakalin (Helsinki)

Ever since Galland's translation, 1704-1717 (Abdel-Halim 1964), *The Arabian Nights* have greatly affected western literature and fairy-tale tradition. It also seems that the status of the *Nights* is higher in the western world than in Orient. That is partly due to the style of various translations and partly because of the written form of tradition in Occident.

This paper attempts to show that the ocean of stories collected in the *Nights* represents the medieval Islamic entertaining literature and that it can be compared with modern fantasy and science fiction, even with cartoons, sex magazines and TV shows. That owing to the fact that there are similar elements in medieval and modern genres of amusement. Also, it is notable, that the *Nights* were not meant for children; so in the modern world the original function and original version of the *Nights* have changed: the translations of the *Nights* are varied in composition, often abridged and censored to suit western taste and children. It is also important to point out that the *Nights* focus on the social conditions and habits of the medieval Islamic society, although many stories are originally Indian or Persian (Lane 1971).

When discussing the fantasy abounding in the *Nights* we also have to consider the society of medieval Islam – the things we suppose to be pure fantasy have been reality. And because fantasy – real or pure fiction – had in general a very low status in the medieval Arab world, stories such as those found in the *Nights* were classified as *khurafa*, lies

or fantasies, tales fit for women and children, and only suitable for telling in the evenings when serious work had been done (Irwin 1994: 81). Some examples of the real life in the 13th century Cairo can be found in al-Jawbari (1918?¹). He writes that when he was in the city of Harran, he saw an ape whose master had trained it to make the human gesture of salutation, to perform the ritual ablutions, to pray and to weep. The ape's master then brought the ape, accompanied by servants in Indian costumes, to a mosque, where the ape performed the ablutions and the prayer. When the owner of the ape was asked to explain this wonder he replied that the ape was in truth not an ape but an enchanted Indian prince (Irwin 1994: 132). So this was the ape-owner's way of starting to tell a fairy-tale about the life of that prince and getting money. We can also read blood-curdling stories of reality in the accounts of Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi, the Iraqi physician who reported about Cairo in the years of the great famine of 1200-1201. He told that small children were being boiled or roasted alive while he was there, despite the governor of the city's decree that any cannibals who were caught would be burned alive:

One night, a little after the sunset prayer, a young slave played with a recently weaned child who belonged to a wealthy person. While the child was at her side, a beggar, seizing a moment when the slave had her eyes turned from him, slit the child's stomach and began to eat its flesh raw. (Irwin 1994: 143)

Many similar narratives have preserved² and it is more than probable that such true stories found their way into the collections of the *Nights*. What is then real fantasy? What is the difference between reality and fantasy? I take it that the aim of storytelling in the *Nights* is mixing fantasy and fiction, giving a scientific frame for the fantasy, and explaining and categorising the supernatural. Thus I also understand the means of modern science fiction. Robert Irwin writes in his book *The Arabian Nights* that the translations of the *Nights* and the tales of the Brothers Grimm (owing actually much to the *Nights*), which had been fashionable among intellectuals and society folk, sank in status to

¹Mentioned by Irwin 1994.

²Bosworth 1976 gives a good general overview.

become the staple fare of nursery children. Why this happened remains a mystery, but part of the answer may be that science fiction has usurped the role of the fairy-tale as the purveyor of marvels to adults. I also suppose that the supernatural used to be much more real in bygone ages and that people believed in all kinds of demons and supernormal beings, which a contemporary western reader is laughing at.

Now, should we try to specify where is the line between fantasy and the unusual? This far carpets do not fly, demons do not appear from bottles and dogs do not speak, but in real fantasy these rules are disregarded. The main elements of fantasy in the *Nights* might be classified in the following way³ (my own classification):

1. Sexual motifs;
2. Animals with human abilities;
3. Human beings with special abilities;
4. Supernatural beings;
5. Supernatural objects;
6. Other kinds of marvels.

The *Nights* abound with sex (both homo- and heterosexual), pederasty, incest, intercourse with supernatural beings. In the *Nights* sexual fantasies are often drug-induced (hashish – the wine of the poor – was very cheap in the medieval Islamic world). In the *Tale of the Hashish Eater* a beggar who has eaten a lump of hashish fancies that he has found his way into a palace where servants wash and massage him before he goes to bed with a beautiful girl... But then suddenly he awakes to find himself surrounded by a crowd, lying naked with an erection beside one of the public lavatories (Irwin 1994: 154). Black men were believed to have big penises and long-lasting erection, but they were thought to be stupid and cunning (in the frame story of the *Nights* Shahriya and Shah Zaman find their wives sleeping with black slaves). The fear of the black virility is prevailing throughout the *Nights*. Men travelling in the desert were also afraid of *Udar*, a monstrous creature in the *Nights* and in ancient reality who raped men and left them dying of worm-infested anuses (Irwin 1994: 175).

Didactic stories about wise animals mastering human speech and knowing future are a very common feature in folklore in general.

³For more details see Gerhard 1963.

Attention should be paid to the genre of stories about human beings with special abilities: there are stories about people who understand the speech of animals, witches, geomancers, future tellers, alchemists, etc. Mostly these figures reflect the reality but in the *Nights* they really master their jobs and do wonders. The book *Ghayat al-Hakim*⁴ dating back to the 11th century contains a story of a demon who wanted to know what was going to happen in the future. They found a dark-complexioned man with blue eyes and eyebrows that joined in the middle. This man was attacked and stripped. The poor victim was then plunged into an oil barrel with only his head remaining above the surface of oil. Then certain rituals were performed. After that the man was macerated in the oil for forty days until all the flesh had fallen from his bones. Then it was possible to detach the head from the rest of the body. Then the head was set in a niche where it gave out prophecies (Irwin 1994: 181). In the *Nights* we also meet a story of Sage Duban who was beheaded; in revenge the head talked to the person who had had him beheaded and asked him to read a poisoned book. Putting his finger in his mouth after touching the pages, the killer met his death (Irwin 1994: 170; Umberto Eco has the same story in his novel *The Name of the Rose*).

The most frequent elements of fantasy in the *Nights* are supernatural beings: *jinnies*, *'ifrīts*, etc. In official Islam the existence of the *jinn* (demon) was completely accepted as it is to this day, and the full consequences implied by their existence were worked out. Their legal status was discussed and fixed in every respect, and the possible relations between them and the mankind, especially in questions of marriage and property were examined. The *jinnies* were of different nature, good and bad (Lewis et al. 1965: 546-550). Another interesting creature is *Ghul*, a fabulous being that inhabits deserted places and assumes different forms to lead travellers astray, to fall upon them suddenly and devour them. Another creature found in *Nights* and Islamic folklore is an automaton. Especially the brass oarsman and ebony horse (half mechanic and flying) featuring in the *Nights* might be taken as a kind of robots acting in medieval "science fiction" tales.

Then there are magic objects: carpets, lamps, amulets, bottles, doors, etc., which often with the help of a spell or password enable the pro-

⁴Also translated into Latin as *Picatrix*.

tagonists to travel to marvellous realms and use the help of magic creatures. The story-teller often used these tools to continue his story, to take the listener to other worlds (Hattox 1985⁵).

An important factor in the way to fantasise the *Nights* is the tradition of story-telling. The traditional story-teller in a coffee-house with his gestures, his voice and sometimes his additional pictures that were used to give more power to his stories – he was the Magician! His audience, the oriental night and heat were the spices of his story... Now the only element of fantasy in an Arabian coffee-house is the TV.⁶

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⁵A book about Oriental coffee culture.

⁶The following books are to be recommended for further reading: Robert Scholes & Eric S. Rabkin, *Science fiction*. New York, 1977; William Sims Bainbridge, *Dimensions of science fiction*. Cambridge, 1986; Karl Kroeber, *Romantic fantasy and science fiction*. New Haven, 1988; Carl Darryl Malmgren, *Worlds apart*. Bloomington, 1991.

The Journey to the Underworld.

On Sailors' Autobiographic Manuscripts and Photographs¹

Erik Nagel (*Stockholm*)

The division of cultures into literate and illiterate has had a great impact on ethnology and adjacent disciplines in terms of methodology, theory and choice of subjects. We are – traditionally – very fond of studying oral traditions. It is a fact though, that a lot of our source materials are to be found in the museums and archives' collections as written texts (Klein 1986; Tarkka 1993).

As ethnologists and folklorists, we study what people do – and among the things people do are reading and writing. And not only that; in Sweden a tradition developed around the turn of the century of reading and writing which, as pointed out by Ambjörnsson (1988), was opposed to and directed by other guidelines for studying than that of the world of academics and the educated middle-classes. Studying on its own terms was a major concern of the early voluntary associations, trade unions, temperance movements, and religious revival movements, as they flourished in the early decades of the 1900s.

Another irony pertains to the art of photography. In her article *The Aesthetics of Amateur Photography* Karin Becker (1993: 19) points out that amateur photography "probably accounts for the greatest volume

¹This paper was presented at the symposium *Walter Anderson and Folklore Studies Today* at the University of Tartu on Oct. 6-8, 1995. I am indebted to Barbro Klein for her commenting upon my written English, and for suggesting improvements. However, she should not be blamed for any shortcomings of the text that may appear in the final manuscript.

of work," yet in the history of photography this "is considered unimportant."

The thesis I work on is concerned with a collection of Swedish sailors' autobiographic manuscripts and photographs, collected during the 1950s by the *Nordiska museet* in Stockholm (the main folklife museum in Sweden) and the Swedish sailors' unions.

This article aims at presenting examples from this collection in order to show that these texts and photographs are not merely a source for ethnographic illustrations; the manuscripts and photographs themselves demonstrate qualities of written literature and ethnography. I argue that each contribution to the collection should be treated as an individual work in its own right.

The sailors' works are part of a huge collection of Swedish workers' autobiographical manuscripts in the museum, representing a wide range of different trades. The lifetime of these writers and photographers coincide with the mechanisation and industrialisation of Sweden. They were born in the period of 1870 to 1910, and were active workers till about 1950.

The aesthetics of the photographs and texts relates to a wide gamut of traditional genres. In an initial study (Nagel 1994), I found that the structure and themes of some of these narratives corresponded to traditional hero-patterns, heroic epics, and oral-related literary texts as studied by J. G. von Hahn (1876), Albert Lord and Milman Parry (Lord 1960), John Miles Foley (1992), and Archer Taylor (1964) among others.

The stories and images of everyday life and work, seen from the workers' point of view, constitute the core of the historical events transforming the country into an industrialised nation (Nilsson 1984; 1989). In this perspective, the politics, values and ethics of these stories seem to compose a homage to the creation of modern Sweden, implying that the workers – and not least the sailors – were the true protagonists of this historical process.

The photographs are documents of the moments and events the photographers wanted to preserve and share – i.e. they transformed historical events into communication. Becker writes that "[amateur-] photographs show what ordinary people considered valuable at the time, the places and people they wanted to preserve and remember and share within their social circle" (1993: 19).

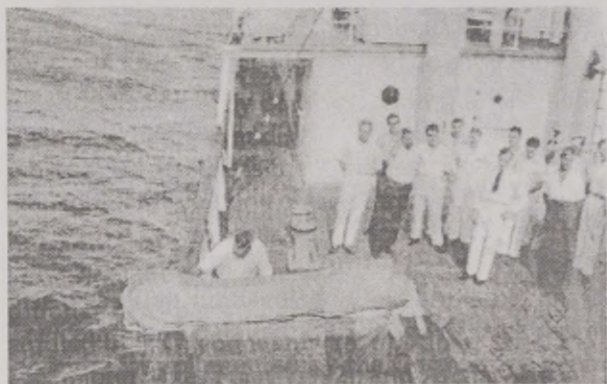
In their texts and photographs the sailors discussed the social realities of their own cultures – life in Sweden and life on board the ships. Also, sailors travel all over the world. Globetrotting was, during the first half of this century, still a very exclusive activity. The sailors became rapporteurs of encounters with foreign cultures. It seems relevant to read their manuscripts as a kind of “ethnographic fiction” (Clifford 1986: 6). We may even say that in the process of textualising their personal experiences and encounters with foreign cultures they related to traditions of travel writing and ethnographic literature.

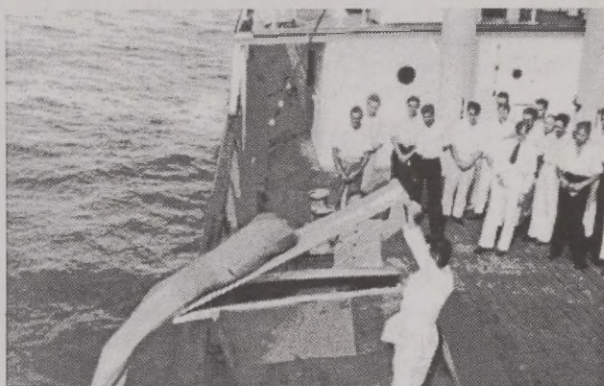
Sequential stories and pictures, like the following by two of the sailors, condense within their narrative structures of beginnings, middles, and ends the paradox of uniqueness and tradition. This paradox consists in the idea that the hero himself is at the same time typical – and thus representative and subject to identification – and extraordinary. For instance he may grow up under poor or ordinary conditions and yet turn out to be an outstanding person, capable of overcoming unusual difficulties.² Maybe the paradox of images – in the moment of experience and textualisation – fusing the ordinary and the unusual, is the trigger that makes the writers and the photographers translate their experiences into reportable stories (Abrahams 1986: 61).

The following is a presentation of a series of five photographs taken in 1932 by Eric Johnson documenting a sea funeral. The photographs are captioned in Johnson’s contribution to the museum collection: *Motorman E. Håkanson’s begravning Aden Gulf 1932* (*Engine worker E. Håkanson’s funeral in Aden Gulf 1932*). Apart from this caption, no facts about the death and funeral of Håkanson are mentioned in Johnson’s written text. No hint is given as to what this event, and this person, meant to the photographer.

Peculiar to this series of photographs is not that Johnson “took” the pictures of a sea funeral; others had done so before him. What is unusual, however, is that by taking a whole series of photographs Johnson transgressed the limits of the still photograph towards a cinematic film (Pinney 1992: 90), as if he with this syntagmatic sequence referred to ethnographic photography of ritual behaviour.

²See note 3.





Isidor Berndtsson composed his autobiography, exceeding one hundred and thirty pages, featuring himself as the hero according to a traditional Homeric hero-pattern. His *Odyssey* climaxed when he was injured in an allied air raid during World War II on board the ship *s/s Mongolia*. "And that turned out to be *Mongolia's* and my own last journey," he dramatically announces when introducing the story of this event, as if he had not survived the bombing. The ship was wrecked, Berndtsson was rescued and hospitalised in the German city of Kiel. Thirty five years earlier Kiel had been the first foreign harbour he had visited as a sailor. Therefore he had the name Kiel tattooed on his hand. Being a wounded prisoner of war in "The Third Reich" with this tattoo, he was suspected by the Nazis of being a German traitor and could

expect nothing but execution, if he survived the hospitalisation of course.

Before going any further into Berndtsson's story let it be mentioned that one of the essentials of the Homeric hero-pattern is that the hero is a homecoming – a returning hero.³ A major concern of Homeric heroes on their ocean journeys is how to return home safely. A traditional way to solve this problem is to consult "Destiny" in some way or other. But to do so the hero must die, or – as Lord (1960: 165 ff.) seems to imply – at least perform a symbolic journey to the Kingdom of Death.

When Odysseus is to depart from the island of Circe, she instructs him on how to navigate to the land of Persephone and how to sacrifice at the shores of the land of the deceased. He must perform this ritual journey before he will be able to return home. The oracle Teiresia will then instruct him on how to reach his beloved Ithaca. Albert Lord points out that the returning hero:

is fit subject for the lower world journey, because he has already followed the pattern of the myth by reason of a long absence in the other world and a return to this. The

³J.G. von Hahn (1876: 340) termed it "*Arische Aussetzungs- und Rückkehrformel*" – familiar to Anglo-American readers as "Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula" (Taylor 1964). It should be noted though, that Taylor applied a translation by H. H. Wilson, containing errors that altered the meaning and structure of the formula. I shall offer the original version, which corresponds better to Parry/Lord than does that of Wilson, with suggestions of translation (alternative interpretations are, of course, possible):

Züge (Characteristics).

Geburt (Birth): 1. *Hauptheld unehelich geboren* (Principal hero born out of wedlock). 2. *Mutter, einheimische Königstochter* (Mother, daughter of native king). 3. *Vater, ein Gott oder Fremder* (Father, a god or stranger). *Jugend* (Youth): 4. *warnende Zeichen an einen Ascendenten* (ancestor or parent receives an omen). 5. *daher Hauptheld ausgesetzt* (Hero, in consequence, exposed). 6. *durch Thiere gesäugt* (Suckled by brutes). 7. *erzogen bei kinderlosem Hirten-Ehepaar* (Reared by childless herdsman-married couple). 8. *Uebermuth des Zöglings* (the foster-child's presumption/hybris). 9. *Dienstbarkeit in der Fremde* (Service abroad). *Rückkehr* (Return): 10. *Siegreiche Rückkehr und Zurückgehen in die Fremde* (Victorious homecoming and return to abroad). 11. *Fall des Verfolgers, Herrschaftserwerb, Befreiung der Mutter* (Fall of the persecutor, service to rulers, liberation of mother). 12. *Städtegründung* (Foundation of cities). 13. *ausserordentliche Todesart* (Extraordinary death).

journey to the Underworld is but a microcosm of the macrocosm. (1960: 169)

Lord (1960: 168) also points out that for such a journey to be successful, it is preceded by the vicarious and sacrificial death and due burial of a companion. With this frame in mind I read Isidor Berndtsson's narrative of a companion's death and burial, and of his own certain death, and how he inquires his own destiny. A young Finnish sailor perishes after an accident:

The day after we left Huelva, the second engineer was draining the donkey engine, when he heard terrifying screams from beneath the steel sheet floor. When he removed one of the sheets a man crept out. He had been hiding underneath the donkey engine, was showered with boiling water and severely scalded. They took him to the deck and cut off his clothes.

After suffering three days in unbearable agony – and nursed by Berndtsson – the poor man finally died:

The boatsman brought a roll of canvas and started sewing the hearse cloth. He did it accurately. Doubled the

Nebengestalten (Subordinate Figures): 14. *Verleumdung wegen Blutschande und früher Tod* (Slandered because of incest and early death). 15. *Rache des beleidigten Dieners* (Vengeance of insulted servant). 16. *Ermordung des jüngeren Bruders* (Murder of the younger brother).

On the basis of this formula I developed the idea that the biographical pattern of the hero in narrative traditions (at least as far as the sailors related to such traditions), could be viewed as a sequential structure in three stages of development (Nagel 1994): 1 *Hero by Destiny* (*Ödeshjälte*) – this designation points to the young protagonist's lack of control over his own life and relates to the figures 1-8 in von Hahn's formula. 2 *Hero by Action* (*Handlingshjälte*) – this designation points to the protagonist's leaving home and taking responsibility of his own life and the events which provides him the status of a hero. 3 *Hero by Tradition* (*Traditionshjälte*) – this designation points to narrative elements confirming that the hero of the narrative has followed the pattern of the tradition of a returning hero. What accomplishes the moves from one stage to another is considered the *Test Conflicts* of the narrative; the trials and obstacles the hero is exposed to by family members, by fate or by society, or by other antagonists contesting his courage and capacities.

canvas and did not tinker with the stitches. Then he tied some weights to the feet. Now, he said when he finished, when he reaches the bottom he will take a stand there to the Day of Judgement. The carpenter built a platform at the rails. A bucket of ashes was placed at the platform and everything was ready for the funeral.

The engine was stopped and the vessel drifted while we gathered on the after-deck. Bare-headed we stood and a few sailors carried out the deceased. [---] The dead man was placed on the platform and covered with a Swedish flag. The captain approached the platform and read the Burial Service, took three cups of ashes and sprinkled on the deceased. When he had finished, the sailors raised the one end of the platform and the dead body slid over board. I stood at the rail and watched the sinking body disappearing into the Great Unknown. Again I had this choking feeling in my stomach. How close hadn't I been myself to share the fate of this young Finnish sailor! A splash, a few circles on the water surface, and a sailor disappears never to return.

This is a due burial – note that Berndtsson emphasises that the boatsman does not tinker. The burial is performed with accuracy and dignity. And it is vicarious sacrificial death. The deceased paves the way to the Kingdom of Death on behalf of the returning hero. Isidor Berndtsson identifies himself with the deceased; it could have been he who would have had to stand on the ocean bottom to the Day of Judgement.

Now, back to Berndtsson pondering on his own fate in the hospital in Kiel. Would he ever be able to return home safely? The city and the hospital were under heavy bombardment, and being a suspect prisoner of war his captors did nothing to protect him from exposure to the shelling; he was chained to his bed. The Nazis did not accept his explanation that he was a subject of a neutral nation. Berndtsson writes:

More than anything else I brooded this tattooing. 35 years had passed since I was in Kiel the last time. Kiel had been my first foreign harbour, should it also be my last? Was this predestined? Had I survived all these years because it was predetermined that this was where the final 'full stop' should be.

I wore the sign of death on my hand and my bones were probably to bleach here in Nazi-Germany. [...] Sooner or later, I supposed, a bomb would fulfil my destiny in these unceasing air raids.

Berndtsson chains his own fate to the fate of the ship with the phrases "And that turned out to be Mongolia's and my own last journey" and "I wore the sign of death on my hand". With a wink to his readers, who are very much aware that Berndtsson did survive the air raids, Berndtsson creates an illusion that he did share the fate of his ship. He seems to be writing his report from beyond the threshold of death, like a revived. Ordinary people do not get two-way tickets to the boat of Charon. His rhetoric constitutes an eloquent way of composing the symbolic journey to the Underworld. Berndtsson fits it into the narrative pattern of his own life-story.

To conclude with, the two sailors had similar experiences – experiences shared with many other sailors. They materialised and recreated these historical moments in the sequential, verbal and visual narratives of their autobiographies. These images referred at the same time to shared and unique events and traditional narrative structures and genres, thus containing the paradox of uniqueness and tradition. The paradox I, with a reference to Abrahams (1986: 61), assumed was the trigger that made the writers and the photographers translate their experiences into reportable stories.

It is obvious that the photographs of Eric Johnson and the text of Isidor Berndtsson could be interpreted as complementing each other. Yet, in spite of referring to similar experiences they are as a matter of fact two different stories – neither needs the other to be comprehensible. Both are complete stories in their own right. However tempting it may be, letting one illustrate the other would be a construct of fragmentation, a monographic fallacy, depriving the text and the photographs of their individual integrity.

Berndtsson did not only write a story of a funeral and of war experiences; his ambition was to write a story of the homecoming heroes of modern Sweden, thus transforming his own life-story to a political argument.

Eric Johnson did not only photograph the funeral in order to freeze a memorable moment of his own life; by his choice of angle and by his

photographing a whole sequential series, it is evident that he had something more on his mind. We may think of this as "the syntagmatic concatenation which is the great rationale for ethnographic film" (Pinney 1992: 90). With the camera in his hand Johnson textualised his experience of this event, seemingly relating to a notion of ethnographic documentary in "a language composed purely of images" (Pinney 1992: 87). He did not elaborate the story in words, it needed no other words than those of the caption. And since he did not mention the death and funeral of Håkanson in his written text, it is impossible to know what it meant to him, and what he was aiming at when he chose these photographs as his contribution to the museum collection. His aim might well have been a different one from Berndtsson's.

Finally, while we as postmodernist scholars preoccupy ourselves with the scrutiny of ethnographies and their intertextual relations with travel writing (cf. Moore 1994), we do, in the form of the collection of sailors' manuscripts and photographs, have a case of people not belonging to the world of academics, producing their own written literature and their own ethnographies, and so doing what some scholars may have thought of as a privilege of the learned.

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Narratives of New Technology

Reimund Kvideland (Turku)

Technological innovations have radically changed our daily lives and our working conditions during the last century and a half. In this paper I will examine the kinds of narratives people have created in order to cope with the technological changes and, secondly, the cultural changes caused by the technological culture.

Two arguments can be set up:

1. People are conservative and resist any changes, especially technological innovations; this conservatism is expressed through narratives and other folklore genres. New technology creates insecurity and fear which is expressed through folklore.

2. People willingly accept new technology and the acceptance is expressed through folklore.

These two arguments should not be understood as thesis and antithesis, but rather as complementary attitudes based on economic and cultural circumstances.

I will here be concentrating on narratives about technological innovation in our daily lives; the technological innovations in industry have not given rise to either similar or the same amount of narratives in Scandinavian traditions nor did I find any in German comparative material.¹ In my material there is an emphasis on the introduction of the railway, telephone, electricity, car, radio and television.

¹I am grateful to Dr. Siegfried Becker at the *Zentralarchiv der deutschen Volkserzählung, Institut für Europäische Ethnologie und Kulturforschung*, University of Marburg, for helping me to find German tradition on new technology and permission to use the material in this paper.

Technology is given both a demonic and a divine dimension. By 1853 the German peasant had, according to the father of the German folk life study, Wilhelm Friedrich Riehl, already "constructed a circle of legends about the railway." He gives an example connected to popular tradition about the devil:

There is a widespread belief amongst the peasants that the railway would after a certain period of time disappear (this was predicted with great assurance), just as suddenly as it had arrived... In the Baden region there is a legend that every time the train stops at one of the larger stations, one person is missing, taken by the devil as his reward; and in the Alsace in 1851 it became necessary for there to be sermons from the pulpit against railway superstitions. (Riehl 1883: 66 quoted from Bausinger 1984: 345)

This legend clearly warns people against travelling by rail which is dangerous and belongs to the devil. "To date," wrote Bausinger in 1961, "stories are still told in many places of individual citizens or even community leaders who believe they recognize the devil or at least some kind of evil force in locomotives" (Bausinger 1990). In German popular religious prints of the narrow and the broad path, the railway is part of the broad path (Bausinger 1981: 230).

Even if the railway is not explicitly connected with the devil, it could be connected with danger:

A couple travelled by train for the first time to Trondheim. When the train started, the wife became very nervous: "This will never go well, this will never go well," she repeated. After a while the train passed through a tunnel and it became as dark as in a sack. "Didn't I say so," she cried. "Now I have gone blind." (Adresseavisens 1955: 101)

In the Nordic countries religious people warned against electricity; like thunder and accidental fires, it belonged to the devil. The same applied to the telephone because during thunderstorms blue sparks would issue from the telephone. Electricity was also connected with other supranormal powers, the blue electric sparks with marshfire and the marsh spirit (Sjögård 1991: 147).

Defining new technology or its consequences as sinful is one way of

rejecting it. It could also be rejected as unnecessary. A Norwegian farmer listened to the weather report on the radio and decided he would not listen to it any more. "I heard it yesterday evening," he said. "That man has too much weather, more than we need" (Dahl 1944: 163).

The one-way communication could also be experienced as a problem:

Lars was old and lived alone. His family bought him a radio. When they asked him how he liked it, he said: "Not so bad, it is just that I cannot ask it to repeat anything." (*På folkemunne* 17, 1968: 19)

On the other hand there is evidence that people talk to and interact with the radio and television even though they know that there is only one way communication.

New technology could also be looked upon as a gift to mankind from God, or at least as divine. An old farmer from south-western Norway was sceptical about the radio. But when he understood that it was possible to hear transmissions from all over Europe and even from America, he exclaimed: "I believe that we could hear heaven, if only we had the right receiving set" (Dahl 1944: 164).

But an old woman from the same region doubted that anyone could become a true Christian by listening to such a small box (Dahl 1944: 164 f.).

The divine origin of the car is clearly expressed in a story from the same district:

It was in the days when the first cars came to Jæren. A firm had bought a car. The very same day an elderly man came to see it, he had never seen a car before. The man knew the Bible and he said, "I wanted to see the car you have bought. Not that I do not know about it from the prophet Ezekiel, but I would like to have a close look at it." (Dahl 1944: 162)

To a person well versed in the Bible, nothing could be more natural than to compare the car to the wagon of fire that fetched Ezekiel to heaven. The Bible became the frame of references even to modern technology.

Technology threatens even to break the relation between space, time and eternity.

During a trial flight with the Skyrocket the pilot reached a height at which more than 96% of the earth's atmosphere was below him. He attained a speed never experienced before and gasped involuntarily "My God!" "Yes, my son?" a voice (supposedly) answered via the microphone. (Bausinger 1990: 17)

Folk narratives show that new technology has very often been understood as an extension of pre-technical culture. The narratives tell about people who react to technology as they did to traditional phenomena: A farmer forgot to secure his tractor. When it started rolling, he shouted at the tractor as he had always done at his horse (Bausinger 1962: 5; cf. Sharfe 1993: 53 for discussion of the term 'regression').

A Norwegian farmer asks the ticket collector how fast the train runs. "About 70 km an hour," he answers. "Oh, I can just imagine the old lady tripping and running," says the farmer, who has tied his cow to the last wagon. (Glade sørlandshistorier. n.d.: 98) – As he would have tied the cow to his cart. To the farmer, the train and horse cart were identical.

Interestingly enough, this reaction also applies to the relations of innovations themselves. A man bought a television set and, asked by his neighbour, he said: "Oh yes, not bad, when I close my eyes, it is like the radio" (På folkemunne 17, 1968: 19).

According to the narrative tradition, people were interested in new technology, they would take the trouble to go and see the first train or car, they would be eager to acquire and use new technology.

Some narratives are probably made up by the urban middle class to ridicule the lower classes, especially the farmers. Among these narratives I would include the internationally documented and only narrative of this kind with an AT-number (1710) – about the boots sent by telegraph. In a Norwegian variant the thief has replaced the new boots with his old ones and the peasant believes his son has returned his old boots for repair (På folkemunne 1, 1955: 55; not registered in Hodne 1984).

It is a well known argument that pre-technological culture was based on a concept of the unity of space and time.

The everyday environment was familiar and was mastered by daily

contact and by knowledge of the history of the space (cf. Bausinger 1990: 39). Time was a unity of past and present. When this unity was broken by the new technology, the cultural changes could be communicated through narratives. On a deeper level these narratives express the new dimensions of time and space that were created by the new technology.

The story about the man who did not want to listen to the weather forecast because there was already too much weather says nothing about the radio as an innovation, but indicates that the nation-wide weather forecast troubled his concept of space.

The traditional concept of time was based upon series of events; the events constitute time, and time is therefore discontinuous. The modern concept of time is based upon an understanding of time as a continuous flow that can be filled with events. In the traditional rural society cultural space was limited rather than discontinuous (cf. Narváez 1986: 128; 139), in modern society it is nearly unlimited. When it comes to electricity, telephone, and radio, space or distance do not involve a difference in time. What was once conceived of in terms of time, now became simultaneous events.

Some years ago, I was working in my garden at the same time as I was on the radio. A neighbouring boy who saw me in the garden and heard me talking on the radio was quite bewildered, for the two simultaneous events did not agree with his concept of time and space: how could his neighbour be in his garden and on the radio at the same time? It would be easy to turn this episode into a story (as I have in fact done by giving a summary of it).

A man named Alfred Karlsson was responsible for the electric transformer in the village. "When I turned on the electricity for the first time," he said, "I ran home as fast as I could, but would you believe it, the electricity was already there..." (Sjögård 1991: 145).

The railway shortened the time it took to travel between two places and thus seemed to reduce space. Electric light changed the traditional division of day and night, light and darkness, and thereby the traditional working routines as well as social life.

Modernity, new technology, and the accuracy of time seem to be closely connected, if not synonymous. People became dependent on

watches in order to catch a train, to turn on the news on the radio. The train did not wait for its passengers, but left on schedule. There are plenty of stories about people who nearly caught the train and tried to console themselves that they missed it only by a minute. The radio news did not wait for the listener to turn it on, watch time became a means of power. This applies to institutions like broadcasting systems and railway companies as well as employers.

A consequence of this was that regularity became a new, powerful aspect of social life. Many narratives tell about the problems of adjusting to this new aspect of life. An old woman found herself the only passenger on a train and told the conductor that the train did not have to go only for her, she could go to town the next day (Dahl 1944, Norway; Brune 1986: 270, Germany).

The difference between the rural traditional and modern concepts of time is expressed in a story known in Norwegian and German tradition:

A railway engineer came to a farmer and told him that the planned railway would pass through his cowshed. The farmer thought about it for a while and said: "Well, yes, but I do not want any trains to run through my cowshed at night, I will close the doors in the evening. (På folkemunne 30: 17, ZdV, Marburg; Orig. No. 66 from Tirol.)

To the farmer time is a structure created by a selection of elements of work or events, in this case primarily the daily routine of the cowshed. To the railway engineer time is a construction in which work, in this case train schedules, can be produced.

Most of the narratives about new technology are about the rural population. This partly mirrors the middle class stereotype that farmers are stupid, partly the well known rural bias of folklore field work. Comic magazines and caricatures indicate that the middle class and the urban population have experienced the same insecurity (see Brune 1986). It is not so much a difference between rural and urban culture as a difference between traditional and modern concepts of time and space.

The narratives report on resistance, misunderstandings, erroneous assumptions and at the same time interest, curiosity, pleasure and the benefit of new technology. At the same time the narratives confirm

that the teller and his audience master the new technology and are superior to the actors in the narratives.

New technology has continually been developed and most, if not all, of the modern legends tell about man's relationship to technology, his fears, anxieties on the one hand, and his fascination on the other. But the modern urban legends have a significant difference from the narratives about the early modern technology. While the stories I have quoted are told about the rural population, the modern legends do not make any difference between rural and urban people – we are all target of the modern legend, apart, perhaps, from children, who seem to master technology. The question is no longer a difference of social classes but of age.

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How to Define Supernatural Beings

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There are several problems inherent in the relationship between the scholar who studies religious terminology as used in folklore and the people whose terminology is being studied. Two central problems relate to the nature of belief and to differences in the use of language. As will be shown, these problems are closely interconnected.

Natural languages or spoken languages are never as exact as scholars would like. Scholars of all disciplines need to express themselves in clear terms; their scientific terminology is very precise. Before embarking on a serious work, scholars must define their terms very carefully, so that the readership will be in complete agreement as to what is being discussed. The establishment of a consistent scientific terminology is an old ideal. Some disciplines have come further than others in pursuing this goal: in general, certain fields of philosophy, especially mathematics and logic, as well as the natural sciences have come furthest in establishing a consistent, universally applicable terminology.

Folklorists have also aspired to do away with the inconsistencies of natural language. We too have our technical language which we guard jealously (see the large number of articles dedicated to terminology, including definitions of *folklore*, *legend*, *myth*, *fairy-tale*). Many of our technical terms originated in the common language, with a result that these terms have one "scientific" definition and another common one. The people being studied, "the folk" use many of the same words but do not have as precise definitions, allowing much more variation in meaning, even contradiction. Some have wanted to change this, by coining new terms with precise definitions. Although this at first seems very attractive, it is questionable how desirable it really is. We can create

very exact definitions of the terms *sagn*, *memorate*, *tale type*, etc., only to discover that much of what people relate does not fit neatly into these categories. While the categories and concepts philosophers deal with are the creation of their minds and completely under their control, the ones we deal with are the creation of other people, and we do not have the same freedom in giving them new meanings.

Folk narratives are told using natural languages. In natural languages many words do not have any consistent meaning; their meaning is always dependent on context (including genre). Where there is no context, the word has no meaning. No two people understand any common word in a natural language in exactly the same way, and it is possible that everyone uses a word slightly differently. Gradually with use, words change in meaning. In a living language, words continually acquire new meanings and lose old ones. This makes it difficult if not impossible to give a complete definition of any word.

When the scholar and the people being studied speak different languages, the scholar's difficulties are multiplied, as he tries to find precise translations for the local concepts and categories. Many religious words are culture-specific; they may have no equivalent in a language of widely divergent culture. (If it is a closely related culture, this may pose less of a problem.)

Even where there is a word for the same concept in the scholar's language, he must bear in mind that words in two languages referring to the same thing do not have complete overlap in meaning. This is also true of more simple words, such as *chair* in English and the French *chaise*. The English *chair* is something intended for one person to sit on; it has a back. The French *chaise* is also intended for one person to sit on; it also must have a back, but it cannot have arms – only a *fauteuil* has arms. The words *chair* and *chaise* both refer to a very concrete, everyday object and they have a common etymology. Further, the English and French cultures are quite close. Still, the two words differ in meaning. It is easy to imagine that words like 'soul' or 'spirit' would be even more difficult to accurately translate from one language to another.

When I was writing my dissertation *Legends about forest spirits in the context of Northern European mythology*, I spent a considerable amount of time trying to define my object of study. There is an inherent difficulty in defining religious words, especially appellations of supernatural

beings. Some words are easy to define; all you have to do is point to the referent, or to several potential referents, and specify which things are included under this designation and which are not. With terms referring to supernatural beings, this is not possible, as their "referents are conceptual rather than perceptual" (Louw & Nida 1988: xiii).

Not surprisingly, I found many definitions of the term 'forest spirit' to be somehow inadequate. One dictionary defined a Russian word for forest spirit thus: "*Leshij* – in Slavic mythology – a fairy-tale [or fabulous] character with human form that lives in the forest; the spirit of the forest [who is] hostile to people" (Ozhegov & Svedova 1995). This definition, which is taken from a general dictionary of the Russian language rather than a specialized dictionary of folklore, is inaccurate in that the *leshij* is not primarily a character of fairy-tales, it is not always said to have human form, and it is not always said to be hostile to people.

How then should a forest spirit be defined? Should it be defined according to its appellation, its appearance and attributes, its abode, its actions, or what? No single criterion was found to be sufficient.

Basing a definition on an appellation is clearly insufficient: different people refer to what they would probably consider to be the same thing by using different appellations. They may speak different dialects, or perhaps they are avoiding the most common appellations lest they summon the being inadvertently. Sometimes they may completely avoid naming the character, referring to it only as he or it. It would of course be impossible to study the complete meaning of the word 'he' in narrative folklore.

The second criterion, that of appearance and attributes, is of no use. For many supernatural beings there is no consistency in appearance: sometimes the forest spirit is described as coming in the form of a whirlwind, sometimes in the form of an animal. Many characters are defined using the same traits – not only the forest spirit can change its height in Russian tradition, not only the forest spirit is black or furry or has its shoes reversed, not only the forest spirit has red eyes.

The third criterion, abode, does not hold either: many characters with widely differing descriptions are said to inhabit the forest including, in addition to the forest spirit, various dead child beings and other restless dead, the Devil, trolls and fairies, witches, heretics, bandits on the run, etc. While there is considerable overlap between narratives about these

characters (which makes for an interesting subject of study), they are clearly not identical.

The fourth criterion, actions, is not completely satisfactory either. Actions, legends types, episodes, etc., which in one area are connected with a being closely connected with the forest, are in another area associated with the Devil or some other character.

After I had failed to define the forest spirit by applying these criteria or combinations of them, I finally understood that I was being misled by my terminology. The term 'forest spirit' was becoming a reality for me; I had to remind myself that it was not a forest spirit I was studying, but a group of narratives concerning people's relation with the forest or wilderness personified. As a folklorist, I had to conclude,

The forest spirit, as any mythological character cannot be adequately studied as a bounded entity. The forest spirit has no existence apart from the texts which tell about it. These texts are oral and not fixed; a trait, function, or episode which one narrator attaches to the forest spirit, another narrator may assign to another character. (Löfstedt 1993: 1)

That which is essential to the folklorist is what the character symbolizes, the meaning it has to the people who tell about it. The relation between the narratives and the people who tell them is essential. In this respect an article by V. Ivanov and V. Toporov on the Russian *leshij* in a Russian dictionary of mythology is rather helpful. They describe the *leshij* as "the embodiment of the forest, being a part of the surroundings which is hostile to people" (Meletinskij 1990: 310). This is not necessarily a perfect definition, but the approach taken is the right one.

Nature is personified and the supernatural is often anthropomorphized in legends. This need not mean in the least that the narrator believes that his characters are like people, nor that he intends his listeners to believe this. The descriptions used may simply be occasioned by the demands of the narrative. In a narrative you need actors and agents. This is true of both folk narratives and narratives connected with 'book religions', and of most any other kind of narrative as well. In the subsection treating 'Supernatural Beings' in their *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament based on Semantic Domains*, Louw and Nida briefly treat this question:

The meanings of this domain [this group of nouns denoting supernatural beings] are classified as 'persons' or 'beings' not because of certain intrinsic characteristics of the referents, but because the meanings of the corresponding terms combine in syntagmatic relations with events and abstracts in essentially the same way as do the meanings of those lexical units which refer to animate beings. (1988: 137)

Louw and Nida thus admit that it is only for the sake of convenience that they classify some things as 'beings' or 'persons'. When a legend tells of the forest hiding a cow, we do not have to define the forest (or forest spirit) as a person, just because it happens to occur with verbs and adjectives in the same way that words denoting people do. The forest is portrayed as having volition and being capable of taking action merely for the sake of the narrative.

Many legends tell of a person breaking the forest's spell; in some versions the human actually gets to see the forest ruler, who looks like a very tall man. Do people then really believe that the forest spirit looks like a man? As folklorists, we do not have to concern ourselves with what people really believe. It is hard enough for the scholar to know what he himself believes. It is next to impossible for him to discover what other people really believe; it might not even be relevant. We do not have to "define" the character as though it were real, we do not have to try to exhaustively describe it or create a systematic demonology. It is only the symbolic value that the character has in specific narratives as understood by the narrator and his immediate audience, other people belonging to his culture (nation, occupational group), that is important to us.

It should be stressed that this is the viewpoint of the folklorists. The viewpoint of a believer would be very different. Some people may feel that they have directly experienced the forest spirit: they may have seen the forest spirit in some form or another, and have been misled by it, or they may have given it offerings, and in turn had more luck in hunting. For these people the forest spirit is a very real thing. It is not the folklorist's job to confirm or deny this reality.

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Relations between the Witch and the Devil in Estonian Folk Religion

Ülo Valk (Tartu)

The idea of the personified evil, the Prince of this World and his hosts of demons whose hostile attacks befall the human beings has been one of the foundations of Christianity, both as an elite and popular religion. The know-how of everyday self-defence against the lurking powers of evil and the devout hope for help from above is expressed in a multitude of folk beliefs and religious narratives. The topic of the relationship between the Evil One and men is central in many belief legends which reflect the popular understanding of sin and virtue and exemplify the consequences of neglecting or observing the religious values and rules of behaviour.

There are historical data of the Christian mission in Estonia going back as far as to the 11th century. The Lutheran reformation started a new period of missionary activities directed towards the local peasants: fierce sermons against the pagan cult, witchcraft and survivals of popular Catholicism, and the publication of ecclesiastical literature addressed to the Estonians. The Devil became the dominant figure of Lutheran folk religion and preserved his key role in folk belief till the end of the 19th century. The present paper highlights some aspects of the changing mentalities within the frames of Lutheran folk belief in Estonia. The relations between the witch and the Devil and the idea of the devilish pact serve as an example in the discussion about the relationship between the established, "official" Christian religion and the popular beliefs of the Estonians.

The pact with the Devil

The learned Christian concept of witchcraft is based on the idea of the pact with the Devil. Several theologians asserted that human beings do not have any supernatural powers, everything that surpasses natural human abilities is either of divine or demonic origin. The first part of the notorious *Malleus Maleficarum* by Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger is dedicated to "the three necessary concomitants of witchcraft which are the Devil, a witch, and the permission of Almighty God" (1487). One of the famous demonologists of the 16th century, Nicholas Remy (1530-1612) wrote: "Everything which is unknown, lies, as far as I am concerned, in the cursed domain of demonology; for there are no unexplained facts. Whatever is not normal is due to the Devil" (Robbins 1959: 408). The late 17th century author Richard Bovet defined the notion of a witch as follows: "By a Witch is commonly understood a Female Agent, or Patient, who is become Covenant with the Devil; having in a literal sense sold herself to work Wickedness, such whose chief Negotiation tends to the spoiling their Neighbours' persons or goods" (Summers 1946: 18). The Livonian demonologist Hermann Samson (1579-1643) defined witchcraft as follows: "*Zauberey ist eigentlich/ wenn die Menschen durch hülffe und Verbündtnüss mit dem Satan ein Creatur unnd Geschöpf Gottes anders brauchen/ und ein ander Wirkung darin suchen/ denn es Gott verordnet hat...*" ("It is to do with witchcraft when a creature and God's creation is used and influenced differently from the rules prescribed by God through the help of Satan and alliance with him"; 1626: the first sermon).

Similar ideas have been expressed in many other treatises written during the late Middle Ages and early modern times when the positive doctrine of witchcraft and systematic demonology were formulated. The earlier Church had done much to disperse the relics of paganism and witch-beliefs. H. R. Trevor-Roper has characterised this mythology of Satan's kingdom and his accomplices as "an established folk-lore, generating its own evidence, and applicable far outside its original home" (1970: 128). In the light of this academic demonology the negative attitude that was cultivated in relation to witchcraft was based on the concept of the pact with the Devil and the idea that the witch is collaborating with the Old Fiend to carry out the evil inten-

tions. The belief in the involvement of the Devil explains why witchcraft (*maleficium*) was regarded fundamentally evil. It was a form of heresy, paying homage to and co-operating with forces hostile to Heavenly God with whom the Christians enter into a pact through baptism. This idea of the devilish pact forms the core of both the Catholic and Lutheran doctrines of demonology and witchcraft.¹

The Witch and the Devil in the Estonian folklore of the 19th and 20th centuries

Beliefs and practices associated with witchcraft form an essential part of Estonian folk religion. There are plenty of relevant data in the collections of the Estonian Folklore Archives, which have mainly been noted down in the late 19th century and during the 20th century. Although it is still possible to record traditional beliefs on fieldwork trips, they are increasingly being forgotten. Many magical practices were connected with agriculture and cattle breeding, hunting, fishing, preparing of food, etc. There were love charms and charms of counter-magic. Several real and putative practices described in belief legends were connected with evil purposes such as stealing milk, sending diseases and doing harm to the neighbours. Witches and wizards who served their community with their "professional" knowledge were called *nõid* or *tark*. The first word has a pejorative connotation reflecting Christian attitudes; the second one, which literally means 'the wise one', is a more respectful appellation. There are different beliefs explaining the origin of their supernatural knowledge and magical powers.

¹Similar ideas about human beings practising witchcraft with the help of spirits can be traced in religions not related to the Christian traditions. The Vedic Indian words for a wizard *yātudhāna* and *yātumant* mean literally "the one who has a demon (*yātu*)", i.e. a familiar spirit. Later Hindu occult science rests upon the belief that power over anything and everything on earth can be obtained with the help of benign spirits. *Sādhus* claim that their power comes exclusively from spirits; that they possess no special abilities within themselves except that of concentration (Sayed Idries Shah 1970: 120; 123). In shamanistic cultures of North-Eurasia the shaman who is committing supernatural feats on his magic journeys is believed to be assisted by helping spirits with whom he is in lasting relations (Lintrop 1995: 91-100).

People were often believed to be inclined towards witchcraft due to their innate abilities. If a newborn baby had a tooth, it was interpreted as a sign of magical powers. If a mother nursed the baby on three Good Fridays the child was believed to become a witch. It was also widely believed that it is possible to become a witch or a wizard if one coughs under the tail of a white mare or kisses the stern of a horse three Thursday evenings in succession. It was a traditional belief in Estonia that the Devil might appear in the form of a white horse,² whereas Thursday evening was believed to be a proper time to summon the Evil One. Kissing the buttocks of a horse can be associated with the idea of the obscene kiss of the witches' sabbath – a popular medieval folk-belief about witches who pay homage to their master in such a disgusting way (e.g. Guazzo 1608: 35). However, this belief has not been recorded in Estonia and there is nothing to suggest that Estonian peasants of the 19th century interpreted this kind of magic with the horse as a symbolic pact with the Devil.

There is only one belief legend, known in different parts of Estonia, which tells about a witch or a wizard co-operating with the Devil. The example that follows is one of its shortest variants:

There was a man who had his rolls of cloth stolen. He went to a wizard (*tark*) to ask for help. As it was evening already, the wizard asked him to stay overnight and sleep in his carriage in the yard. At midnight the man woke up and heard the wizard whistle three times in the yard. After that a voice asked: "What do you want from me?" The wizard replied: "Do you know the whereabouts of the rolls of cloth that belong to the man sleeping in the carriage?" The voice answered: "Of course I do, they are under the bridge over there!" The man could not see anybody, he could only hear the voice.

He woke up early in the morning and thought: "Why should I go and ask for his advice? I know myself where the rolls are." And this is what he did: he went and picked up the rolls of cloth from under the bridge. Sud-

²Horse is a traditional form of appearance of several supernatural beings in Estonian belief legends. Br. Kerbelytė has explained such cases in Lithuanian legends as remnants of the remote period when the horse was a totemic animal among the Indo-Europeans (1994: 29).

denly he saw a flight of crows flying towards him to peck out his eyes. In the great trouble the man took off all his clothes and threw them to the birds. Thus he got rid of them. (H II 57, 659 (3) < Paide – A. Hanson (1896);³ Aarne 1918, *Sagen* no. 104)

This variant displays some deviations from the basic pattern of this belief legend where the man is usually looking for his lost or stolen horse. The final episode – the birds attacking the man – is not traditional either. Most of the variants have a happy end; no sanctions follow the act of eavesdropping and taking the initiative in order to find the lost property. In the given example the advisor of the wizard remains anonymous, the Evil One's presence is only implied by whistling three times in order to summon him, and the black crows who were supposed to be birds related to death and the Devil. Usually the Evil One in the role of an assistant of a witch or wizard is mentioned explicitly.

Another variant of the same legend type is followed by a final commentary by the folklore collector:

People believe that wizards and witches are on friendly terms with the Evil One and that they practise witchcraft and help other people with the help of the Devil. (H I 10, 414/42 < Risti)

There are also other beliefs that confirm the given statement:

Witches get their knowledge from the Old Hairy, but they have to give three drops of blood from the forefinger. This is evidently sufficient for writing down the name. The Satan acquires the soul of the witch according to his list. (ERA II 186, 363 (7) < Rannu)

Witches always worked together with the Devil, sure. That was the first point. Witches were not upright persons, not with an open heart – they had the power of the Devil... (ERA II 302, 527 (369) < Tallinn < Valjala)

The idea of the blood contract with the Devil was well known in

³Reference to the manuscript collections of the Estonian Folklore Archives in Tartu.

Estonia. Many legends tell about someone who gives three drops of blood to the Evil One as a sign of contract which guarantees him riches and wealthy life for a certain period of time (7, 10, 17 or 25 years). The stupid Devil can be deceived, of course, and often these narratives follow the traditional pattern of entertainment legends. However, there are also warning legends which conclude with the violent death of the person who entered into the fatal pact when the years of happiness had passed. There are only a few texts where the Devil does not provide mere richness for his underling but endows somebody with certain magical powers, e.g. the ability to cure people.

Several Estonian witches and wizards were believed to have a familiar, a demonic treasure procuring servant (*puuk, pisuhänd, kratt*) who stole the property of the neighbours. According to folk beliefs, anybody could become its owner by making an artificial figure or a doll according to special instructions and give life to it by offering three drops of blood to the Devil at the crossroads on Thursday night (see Paulson 1971: 154-156). The idea of the diabolical pact is evident here, but an owner of a *puuk* cannot be identified with a witch or a wizard. It is possible that there is also a pre-Christian layer in these beliefs about the treasure procuring demons. Parallels can be found in folk-religions of shamanist peoples: assistant spirits of shamans may serve the function of obtaining food and property for their masters.

In one short legend the Evil One appears as a moralist which is one of his basic roles in folk belief but extremely rare in connection with witchcraft:

The wizard Luiga Jaan was once pursued by a big goat with crooked horns who paid no attention to the magic tricks that Jaan kept doing [to escape?]. When Jaan mentioned God and Jesus, the monster disappeared at once. (ERA II 237, 408/9 (61) < Paistu)

Hence, it is possible to find many records in the collections of Estonian folklore that testify to the close relationship between the witch and the Devil. However, it would be an overstatement to say that Estonian folk-beliefs of witchcraft are based on the idea of the pact with the Devil. Moreover, it would be erroneous to regard the concept of the diabolical contract as belonging to the corpus of beliefs shared by most of the tradition bearers of the 19th and 20th centuries. As a rule, Esto-

nian witches and wizards were not regarded as needing any help from the Devil, they were believed to practice witchcraft due to their personal abilities and knowledge, often learned from others. The belief in the devilish pact as a guarantee for the ability to practise witchcraft was probably supported by the minority of particularly devoted Christians, not by all groups of the population.

Relations of the Witch and the Devil in Earlier Records

If we go back in time we see a somewhat different concept of witchcraft, which is much closer to the view valid in church demonology. An old Russian chronicle from the year of 1071 tells about a man from Novgorod who travels to the land of Chuds (Estonia?) to get a divination from a local wizard. The wizard starts to summon the demons and then falls into trance. The Devil appears and asks why he was invited. The man from Novgorod observes everything from outside the house (Laugaste 1963: 11-12). The situation somewhat resembles the folk-legend *Aarne, Sagen no. 104* and numerous others that relate of somebody who is secretly onlooking the activities of a witch.⁴ The demonic helpers of the Chudish wizard should not be mistaken for the Christian devils. They should rather be considered as the assistant spirits of a shaman. However, already this early chronicle expresses a distinctively Christian interpretation which was later on established in Estonian folk religion as well.

The Estonian witch-trial records of the 17th century reveal that the local concept of witchcraft resembled the beliefs that prevailed in late medieval and early modern West Europe. Close relations between the witches and wizards and the Devil are evident. The Evil One often manifests himself to his servants; he is the teacher of magic; witches are said to have sexual relations with their demonic master; they have feasts and parties together; entering into the blood contract has been described several times. It seems to be self-evident that witches and wizards can do harm only if the Devil assists them in their evil inten-

⁴Such an episode can be found not only in belief legends but also in other folklore genres and literary texts. Cf. the scene of the transformation of a witch into an owl while the protagonist is observing her in the novel *The Golden Ass* by Apuleius (III: 21).

tions (Uuspuu 1938a: 87). Sometimes the Devil actively incites magicians to evil practices.

In 1723 there was a witch-trial in Tartu. The peasant Wielo Ado from Valguta confessed that the Evil Fiend had taught him secrets of witchcraft. He also told the jury about the charms and spells of black magic that he had used. In order to do harm to somebody one had to put a piece of cloth into water and place a stone on it. The following words were said:

Kurrat litzj sinnu kiwi pähee ninck teh temmal kurrj. ("Let the Devil bruise your head with the stone and do him evil.")

Wielo Ado knew other evil spells as well, also recorded by the scribe of the court in the Estonian language:

Tulle nüüd kurat, minnul sinnu abbj tarwis, Murra Jalg, wäbna kael, ehck wäbna kässj, ehck panna essi hende kiddoma, ehck wotta warsti, sis saab Häng sinnulle, olgo minnu Hänge pähle. ("Come now, ye Devil, I need your help, break the leg, wrench the neck or wrench the hand or make him sickly or take him soon, then the soul will be yours, though the guilt will be mine" (?); Uuspuu 1938b: 19)

Such explicit calling on the powers of evil can be hardly found in the Estonian spells recorded in the 19th and 20th centuries.

According to academic demonology, the pact made between a witch and the Devil engages sacrifices to him. Newborn, unbaptised babies were supposed to be appropriate for this purpose; the Devil also claimed the children of the witches (Guazzo 1608: 14). On August 28, 1640 the peasant Pavel Willapulck was charged with witchcraft and later sentenced to be burned in Karksi, South Estonia. It seems that he confessed his collaboration with the Devil of his own accord, without any pressure from the court. He had met the Evil One ten times, talked with him and even sold the two sons who were three weeks old to him. He received 20 thalers for this bargain which changed into coal when he touched the money. The name of his demonic master was 'Holy Father' (*Heiliger Pater*). Pawel Willapulck also denounced that there was another wizard Kiewase Hen who had committed much evil. He

had bewitched the child of Tyro Janus and offered it to the Devil. On the following day, August 29, 1640 Kiewase Hen and Pawel Willapulck were both brought before the court where the latter repeated his allegations. Finally Kiewase Hen pleaded guilty of having killed several children and offered his own unbaptised two-year-old daughter to the Devil. Kiewase Hen mentioned another sorcerer Nossy Hen who had taken his unbaptised daughter to the witches' party on the blue hill (*blauen Berge*) on St. John's Eve and given her to the Devil (Uuspuu 1937: 117-119; 1938a: 118). We can see that the accusation of offering children to the Devil, associated with the terrifying belief that sorcerers may steal them, are repeated at Estonian witch trials time and again. The belief that the Evil One himself steals and exchanges unbaptised children was still popular at the end of the 19th century and has to some extent preserved up to the present day in Estonian countryside. However, the idea that the witches and wizards steal babies and offer them to the Devil was forgotten by the time when extensive collecting of folklore started in Estonia.

The judges of Estonian witch trials always tried to find out whether the accused person had made a pact with the Devil or not. This was their particular interest because everybody who had concluded the contract was to be sentenced to death according to the ruling Lutheran doctrine (Uuspuu 1938a: 80-82). The witches and wizards (*maleficae*) who entered into the pact with the Evil One and served him knowingly thus causing harm to their fellow men, cattle and crops were ordained to be burned alive (Samson 1626: 9th sermon). Emphasising the witches' relations with the Devil, the courts certainly had a considerable influence on folk religion. Similar ideas were supported by Lutheran sermons as well. Many passages of the Estonian sermons of that period justify the witch trials and explain the idea of the Devil's pact as the corner stone of the Christian doctrine of witchcraft. Heinrich Stahl (c. 1600-1657) wrote in his influential sermons published in 1641:

*Teije waiset Innimesset/ke teije sest Kurratist hexitusse sisse
sahtetut ollete/ninck temma noidusse/lausmisse/katsmisse/
sohlapohomisse kahs denite/echk nende noidade/laussjade/
katsjade/tarckade/sohlapohjade jures abbi otsite/oppeket se
Kurrati pettusse tundma/ninck wallataket hehste/eth teije
temmast wabbax ninck wallalis sahite. ("Ye poor people, who
are deluded by the Devil into blunder and serve him*

through witchcraft, spells and charms or who look for help from sorcerers, warlocks, wizards and witches, ye must learn to recognise the fraud of the Devil and make sure that ye become free and get rid of him"; Stahl 1641: 40)

The spiritual atmosphere created by such sermons and witch trials strengthened the belief in a close relationship between witches, wizards and the Devil. It was a dominating belief in the 17th century Estonia that the specialists of malefice acted in close co-operation with the Evil One; the idea of the diabolical contract most probably belonged to the basic corpus of beliefs.

Conclusions

A comparison of witch-trial records with more recent folklore reveals a number of discrepancies between them. Academic demonology and the lore of learned men had considerably influenced the concept of witchcraft of the 17th century Estonian peasant. Later folklore has preserved these beliefs selectively. Several ideas that were known in the 17th century faded and were forgotten. The stereotype of a witch working together with the Devil lost its importance in theology and the topic of fighting against witchcraft and demonolatry disappeared from sermons preached in Estonian churches. It was substituted by a more rational fight against "stupid" superstitions. This shift in the Christian doctrine gives evidence of the changing mentality all over Europe.

All this leads us to broader conclusions. The history of Estonian folk religion should not be interpreted as a constant and smooth transition from pre-Christian animistic belief to the Christian world view gaining its final victory in the 19th century. Not only Christian but also Lutheran folk religion has a history of its own, and distinction should be made between its different periods, each having their peculiar features. Having once prevailed, some genuinely Christian folk beliefs had lost their importance by the 19th century. The task of reconstructing the history of the ideas of popular Christianity in Estonia is not easy, but it helps us to understand the diversity of folk belief. The religious, social and historical context which is necessary for interpreting beliefs and legends is often hidden in the past.

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A Continuing Tradition: the Changing of Spirit Dolls by the Pym River Khantys¹

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The word *hlunk* as used by the Khantys (*Ostyaks*) denotes both gods, or spirits, and the sacred dolls made for them. It should be noted that the Khantys do not view *hlunks* and people as different by their nature, since the concept of a human being embraces the body as well as several souls inhabiting it. In other words, a human being is treated as a whole. The line between *hlunks* and people becomes vaguer still in myths relating of olden times. The ancient forefathers – heroes of songs (*ar yah* – ‘people of songs’ in Khanty) and *hlunks* are closely related (Kulemzin 1984: 50). Although such merging is characteristic of myths, in the recent past *hlunks* were believed to live in the vicinity of the Khantys. Sometimes people met for example wood*hlunks* and had various relationships, including sexual, with them; sometimes they even cohabited with them for longer periods. Similar tales are known by the Mansis, a close kin folk of the Khantys (Gemuyev, Sagalayevev & Solovyov 1989: 140). There are data in the relevant literature about guardian spirits of some Mansi villages who are supposed to be the distant forebears of the villagers (ibid.: 142-143). Furthermore, for the Khantys and Mansis, the relationship between people and *hlunks* is mutually balanced: both of them are invisible to each other (Kulemzin 1984: 47).

On the Lyamin, the tributary of the Pym, the “invisible people”, as *hlunks* are also known, had a colony where they lived together in families. It was in connection with the space flight of the first female astro-

¹This article is to a great extent based on the author’s fieldwork in Surgut district, Siberia.

naut Valentina Tereshkova that a large number of *hlunks* emigrated to the higher spheres of heaven. They do not like women to walk over their heads, especially during pregnancy and the menses. There are still places on the banks of the Lyamin river which are considered to be so holy that people cannot live there. In olden times, this did not hold for the whole length of the river. It was only after the so-called Kazym war at the beginning of the 1930s that the refugee Khantys from Kazym settled there; some settlements were also built by Russian colonists. It is said that nowadays only an inferior kind of *hlunks* can be encountered there along with spirits from the underworld from whom people cannot expect anything good.

The Khantys have multifarious spirits and gods whose diversity makes it hard to draw up a clear-cut classification, although attempted by various researchers (Kulemzin 1984: 43-47). The sacred dolls are not made for each one of them but only for those who are of immediate use in everyday life. The sacred dolls are kept and offerings are brought to them in sacrificial groves (Gemuyev, Sagalayev & Solovyov 1989: 7-8; 68-71) as with other Finno-Ugrians; the Khantys who have preserved their nomadic lifestyle keep them in sacred storehouses and nartas. The sacred narta is then kept ten to fifteen steps north of the Khantys' conical tent with its nose towards the south. Those who live in log cabins sometimes have their sacred storehouse in the same place, but in most cases it is built at a separate location in the woods.

There are different kinds of *hlunks* with regard to both their powers and domains of activity. Some dolls are used only once as for example the doll of the fire spirit which is burnt at the end of the sacrificial ritual; others are preserved through people's whole lifetime, as the dolls of married women which they get before their wedding from their homefolk. Most of the *hlunks*, however, are replaced every seven years.

Yet the Khantys seem to have a systematic pattern of how they handle their sacred dolls. The following is an outline based on a concrete family living in the Pym river region.

The Pym Khantys live in families along different rivers; related families prefer to settle on the same river. If a son has moved elsewhere because of a quarrel or for other reasons, he has three years to return to the home river; after this the way home will be closed. The local *hlunks* will see to it that the return will not be painless. This happened for

example in the Kanterovs' family where the youngest son had had a quarrel with his father. After his father's death he returned to his native river but could not lead a normal life: his house was haunted, his dog was struck dead by lightning, the health of his family and especially that of his wife deteriorated badly.

The sons who have grown up and have their own families usually settle upstream at some distance from their parents' home. Every family has its own *hlunks* for various purposes, mostly connected with the household. Apart from that, there are *hlunks* common to entire clan, in the very least the doll of the *hlunk* of the river on the bank of which the family resides. The Kanterovs keep their *hlunks* in the sacred storehouse together with the objects offered to them. The storehouse has its keeper who is also the most important man of the clan although he need not be the eldest. He takes care of the storehouse and dolls and distributes the offerings at common sacrifices, where a peculiar social levelling takes place between families of unequal standing with respect to their wealth. Each family brings as many offerings (food, textile, reindeers, money, etc.) as they consider necessary and affordable. In the course of the offering, the food is distributed equally, so that poorer families receive more than they brought to the *hlunk*. The same holds for clothing: if there are so many clothes in the storehouse that it cannot accommodate the dolls, then the storehouse keeper divides these on behalf of the *hlunks* between the families participating at the next ceremony.

When a girl marries out of the family, the storehouse keeper makes her a doll of a chip cut from the tree in the holy grove. The tree itself is left to grow. This *hlunk* will protect the girl in her new home. But not all wives have the doll. For example Voloksi's mother Galina does not have the *hlunk* because a shaman had told her that she cannot have one or else she would go to the other world.

If the river's spirit is of a more powerful kind, he has a special sacrificial storehouse at a sacred place connected with him where the *hlunk* then resides with his assistants. These are usually the *hlunks* of bigger rivers such as the old man of the Ob As-iki, Kasym-imi of the Kazym and others. The god of the Pym has a special storehouse, too, the keepers of which all come from one family. All the Khantys living in the Pym basin take their offerings to that storehouse. The time of offering is set by the storehouse keeper who is advised by the *hlunks*. As it can

be seen, this system is similar to that of the *hlunks* of smaller rivers with the additional involvement of extra-clan families. In the case of greater gods, the Khantys from other rivers also join the offering since the power of these gods is said to reach far. The general idea is that the power of *hlunks* connected with rivers spreads to the areas where a particular river draws its water from. This also serves as a basis for ranking *hlunks*. Thus As-iki is considered more powerful than Pym-iki, the Pym being a tributary to the Ob. It should be mentioned, however, that it is not just because of the Pym flowing into the Ob that As-iki is more powerful than Pym-iki. Let us recall the rule according to which the young people moved upstream when the time came for them to leave their parents' house. Likewise, as myth has it, upon division of land the younger and weaker gods got their plots upstream. There are exceptions, too: for example goddess Kasym-imi of the Kazym river was said to have been so powerful as to have given a battering to her father, the highest god Numi-Torum. For that her father made her lame, and all women living by the Kazym are said to limp to a greater or lesser extent.

When the old keeper passes away, the spirits choose a new one. Sometimes they also change the keeper earlier, either for some instance of trespassing or another reason. The person who is chosen as the new keeper will know it from a shaman. The above mentioned family does not have a shaman; they have "empty bodies" without shamanic power. Not having a shaman is considered a substantial drawback which the family of each son tries to make up for in their own fashion. In Jakov's family for example the tradition is observed rather strictly and passed on to the children. Chiefly, it is seen to by the mother of the family, Galina, who comes from a local "aristocratic" lineage. The world-view of the second brother, Aiser, is a peculiar mix of old beliefs and modern scientific outlook. As he himself says, he has strong faith in science and only believes the stories told by the old folks when they have proved true for him. He sets a great store on medicine for when medicine came around, powerful shamans disappeared.

The family has a legend about how the Kanterovs lost their shamanic powers. Namely, a forebear of theirs had quarrelled with the forebear of another family. Strong men both of them, they began to shaman on one another. Shamaning bad to another person is known as "shamaning backwards" or "eating backwards" by the Pym Khantys. The one who

has engaged in "shamaning backwards" cannot heal, or "shaman forwards", anymore; if he can, his magic powers suffer considerable decline. The shamans of the recent past and present are said to squander themselves with such in-fighting, leaving people with very few "usable" shamans.

The shaman of the other family won. He played the Khanty zither, the *narkis-juh*, and cast a deadening spell on his foe. As if this was not enough, he then proceeded to deprive the whole family of shamanic powers and on top of that, confined a special *hlunk* into a deep hole in the river who entered the stomachs of the male descendants of the enemy's family and ate its way upwards. When the spirit reached the heart, the new-born baby died. The loser's family was in dire straits and had to consult another shaman for a huge fee. The counsel was to sacrifice a dog on each such occasion, the spirit would then accept the dog instead of the boy. Even now the spirit is said to affect the family's male babies. As we can see here, other sound-producing instruments besides the drum are also used in shamaning (Lukina 1980: 56; Barkalaja 1995: 53-54). The fewer instruments the shaman needs, the stronger he is considered to be (Barkalaja 1995: 59).

The above-mentioned family-line of the Kanterovs has got an extremely large number of *hlunks*. They themselves explain it with the fact that one of their forefathers had a weak spot for *hlunks*. To the question of how one acquires a *hlunk*, Aiser replied that this can happen in different ways. Some of them are inherited, others appear to people in their dreams together with instructions on how their bodies are to be made. Sometimes a Khanty endowed with special abilities can pick up *hlunks* while wandering in the woods. This was what their *hlunk*-loving forefather had done. He made a doll on the spot and took it home. But the latter then turned out to be no good in the household and the man took the *hlunk* back to the woods. According to the second brother, Jakov, their forefather had been so powerful a shaman as to foresee the fate of their line wherefore he procured a host of *hlunks* by way of compensation. The *hlunks* are believed to help people without shamanic powers more than shamans who have to rely more on their own power.

In March and August 1995 when I visited the Khantys of the Pym, the Kanterovs were busy with changing their dolls. The ritual coin-

cided with the death of the head of the family and the keeper of the sacred storehouse. For a while after his father's death the dolls were taken care of by Aiser but according to the local shaman, the *hlunks* had chosen his nephew Voloksi. Although Aiser insisted that the shaman make the *hlunks* go to him, the shaman said he had no power to do so. Voloksi was greatly surprised at being chosen as the keeper since he had attended a boarding school and hence was quite alienated from his forebears' spiritual life. It was also highly unusual for the *hlunks* to pick a man as young as 23 years. Normally, the keepers of sacred dolls are about 30-40 years old.

As suggested by the shaman, the changing of the dolls began with building a new sacred storehouse. It is not always necessary but on that particular occasion the *hlunks* demanded it. The new storehouse was built in the same holy grove, a little northwards from the old one. While building the storehouse the family made a mistake which they became aware of only later. At first, Voloksi got several warnings. Thus on a perfectly windless day, a whirlwind sprang up suddenly on the lake and nearly overturned his small boat and drowned him. Voloksi said that he drew no conclusions from that since he was no shaman and there were no shamans in his family either. Jakov, Voloksi's father, confirmed it, saying that a shaman would have immediately understood the sign. Finally, a twig pierced Voloksi's eye while he was walking down the heath and he was taken to hospital. His father accidentally met an old man who was a shaman and who explained the matter to him. There was no one who could have told the old man about the Kanterovs' family replacing their sacred dolls or about Voloksi being chosen as their keeper. Still, he had explained the whole matter and its causes to the father in great detail. Jakov regarded the fact that the old man had used no accessories in his shamaning and "seen" things as they were as a particularly noteworthy achievement. The shaman explained that the reason for the accident was that the family did not know that they should have sacrificed a reindeer in order to make the storehouse acceptable for the *hlunks*. When the figures of the two higher *hlunks* were replaced, the family offered a reindeer to each of them, but they had forgotten to sacrifice for the storehouse. Having no shaman in the family, they had to learn from their own mistakes and seek help from outside. This is how the Khantys interpreted the story. I would refrain from any further interpretation here.

The Kanterovs have six chief *hlunks* and a few assistants. This year two sacred dolls were changed as there were not enough reindeers for sacrifice. The *hlunks* were asked to wait a year until the situation improves. The dolls of different material are replaced differently. The wooden ones are taken to the sacred place and the old doll is put against a tree. The person delivering the dolls to the new keeper, in this case Aiser, hands the doll over to its new keeper with appropriate words. The new keeper cuts a chip from the tree with his axe, and the eyes and the mouth are notched into it on the spot. Thus the spirit can enter the doll.² The old doll is left on the roots of the tree and the new one is brought home. There it is finished, polished and clothed. Then it is taken to the sacred storehouse and the family offers a reindeer and some cloth to it. From then on, the doll will stay in the storehouse.

This is how the figures of Numi-Torum and the god of the home river of the family were changed. The leaden figure of the master of the underworld, Kul-iki, and a serpent-shaped *hlunk* (who they were unwilling to speak about directly, but I was left with the impression that it was the same creature that was harming the male babies of their lineage) as well as a leaden reindeer-shaped *hlunk* who will secure good luck in reindeer-hunting are waiting for their turn. The reindeer-*hlunk* is a fairly widespread figure among the Pym Khantys. I have seen one doll cut out of aluminium. The same ritual of handing the doll over takes place with leaden figures, too, and a new one is cast immediately.

As it has been said above, it is very rare that such a young Khanty becomes the keeper of *hlunks*, especially if unlike his uncle he has displayed no interest nor wish to become one. At the same time, this particular case as well as the emergence of young shamans in the recent past testifies to the fact that the tradition still continues to live despite the Russian destructive colonial policy. The younger Khantys who have distanced from the world outlook and way of life of their parents by having had to live in boarding schools often take to drink and die early.

²I recall an event where a member of our group had given the daughter of the family a balloon as a present and was drawing a face on it. The mother noticed it while the first eye was being drawn and made a modest remark that the eyes should be drawn cautiously because a spirit would enter the balloon which would become a *hlunk* and this might bring misfortune.

Due to the colonial policy the number of adult Khantys has also decreased, mostly because of alcoholism and accidents caused by it. Viewed in this light, the shifting of the burden of responsibility on the shoulders of the young Khantys who have preserved the traditional way of life, and thus also the potential for re-emergence of the traditional world view, is not surprising.

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Correspondence and Divergence between the Religious World-View and Folktales of the Balsa in Northern Ghana

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The Balsa are an ethnic group of about 70 000 people in the Savannah zone of Northern Ghana, practising subsistence agriculture and cattle holding. They live in settlements consisting of dispersed houses or 'compounds' (*yeri*, pl. *yie*). Every settlement is composed of several exogamous maximal patrilineages, i.e. localised clans or clan sections.

I did ethnographic fieldwork among the Balsa since 1966 on three tours, altogether lasting about 21 months. Together with my Ghanaian and German collaborators I recorded more than 1 200 folktales of the Balsa (cf. Schott 1970; 1989a; 1989b; 1990; 1993a; 1993b; 1994). I gratefully acknowledge the financial support I received for my work in Ghana and in Germany by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* in Bonn.

The world-view of the Balsa is determined by a belief in the supernatural powers of a Sky-god (*wen* or *Naawen*) and of the Earth (*teng*). *Teng*, the 'Earth' or the 'Land', is not only a natural phenomenon, but also a supernatural or spiritual power. Any offence against the traditional customs of the ancestors 'spoils the land' (*kaasi tengka*).

Wen, the 'Sky' or the 'Heaven', is often identified with 'God'. The word *wen* also means the 'sun', and it refers to a "religious concept denoting the 'alter ego' or 'personal god' of an individual" (Kröger 1992: 381). After a person's death, the *wen* of the dead man or woman will continue to be addressed in prayers and receive sacrifices by the eldest direct male descendant of the dead person. The *wen* of the ancestor thus represents his or her 'life substance' which survives the dead person's body (*nying*) and soul (*chiik*). If an elderly man or woman

dies, elaborate funeral rites are held by their lineages after the body has been buried. These rites of passage guarantee that the soul (*chiik*) of a deceased person reaches the realm of the dead, the *kpilung teng* (Mot. E481).

Ancestor worship plays a central role in Bulsa religion. The living depend on their dead forbears for the fertility of their fields, for the fecundity and health of their fowls, their cattle and their wives, for their prosperity and long life. On regular occasions or at the direction of diviners consulted by the elders of patrilineages and patrilans, they must give their ancestors sacrifices of millet water, millet beer and millet food as well as of chickens and guinea fowls, goat, sheep and cattle. The elders communicate with the dead, or rather with the *wena* (pl. of *wen*) of their ancestors, represented by sacred stones on clay altars erected for them in front of their houses. With prayers and offerings or sacrifices the living provide their ancestors with gifts of food and drink.

In return, they expect from them their blessings: a rich harvest, fecundity of their cattle, their chickens and their wives, health and long life. Between the living and the dead, there exists a bond of trust expressed in a constant give-and-take on the basis of reciprocity. The ancestors are very much alive and present in the thoughts of the Bulsa people. The living feel themselves to be dependent on the ancestors and on the Earth. This feeling marks the religion of these people; it forms the psychological basis for their feeling safe even in cases of greatest misfortune: nothing can happen to them which has not been ordained by the will of these supernatural forces.

Few of the fundamental religious beliefs and practices mentioned above are reflected in our corpus of more than 1 200 Bulsa folktales. The dead (*kpilima*) as ancestors are mentioned only in a few Bulsa folktales. Thus in one tale (BUL-E0656) the *kpilima* met (Mot. E490) in the bush under a tree (see Schott 1993a). A hunter observed how all of them spread their skins, of bulls, of sheep and of goats, under the tree and sat on them. Only one of the dead men had no skin of his own. He tried to sit on the skin of other dead persons, but all of them refused and told him to sit on the bare ground. They said: "Your son has cattle and sheep. What have you done that in view of all these possessions [which your son owns], he refuses to give you either a sheep's skin, a goat's skin or a cow's skin?" The son thereupon made his children sacrifice two bulls – one for his father and one for his grandfather (father's

father). When he went to the bush again together with the hunter, they both saw that the man's father and grandfather [now] had skins of their own. The teller ended the story by saying: "That is why it is often said that if one has a lot of possessions [things, domestic animals], it is his father who will eventually eat them for him."

This sentence may reflect a rivalry between father and son, which continues to exist even after the father's death: he demands sacrificial gifts from his son which the latter cannot refuse. The father continues to depend on the son, but the son also has to fear the threat of his father.

This story, however, is an exception to the rule that ancestor worship is hardly ever mentioned in the tales of the Bulsa, although it forms the centre of their religious life. One may even say that all that is a matter of course and belongs to the everyday life – the religious life included – is hardly ever made the subject of Bulsa tales. The fundamental concepts of *teng* and *wen* and the sacrificial rites connected with these religious beliefs are scarcely ever treated in their stories and songs.

Numerous are the Bulsa stories in which the dead (*kpilima*) turn up, but **not** necessarily in the role of ancestors. There is e.g. a story (BUL-E0251) according to which a girl refused to marry any of the suitors who wooed her. One day 'people from the death country' (*kpilung teng dema*) came and she followed them to their home. In a song, the dead asked the 'death country' to open up, and the dead descended into the hole one after the other. The girl ran home again and when her people gathered, they all sang the dead peoples' song and descended one after the other until only two orphans were left who took possession of the house and the cattle. The story ends with the moral: "That is why it is said that if they teach a child and he or she does not listen, he or she will 'catch a problem' and bring it home. It is that woman who caught death and brought it to the house when death was still in the bush."

The connection between reality and tales about the dead lies in the moral norms which the tales proclaim: any unsocial behaviour may call up the dead or cause death.

A girl who refuses to marry any of her suitors, or, in other words, who refuses to accept her social role as a woman and mother, conjures the dead. Also any other conflicts between parents and their children may conjure up the *kpilima*. Thus in one story, there was a son who liked to go to dances very often.

The dead were starting their dance (Mot. E493); they [his parents or the people of the house] told him not to go, but he refused and went [---] to the dance in the night. He went and danced, danced together with [the dead people] and at last he said that he was going back home. The dead people told him not to go home, but he said that he was going. [---] [Finally] the dead people agreed; he came out and went home and when he got to [his parents'] house, he died. That is why it is said that if your father and your mother tell you something you should not refuse [to obey them].

According to the beliefs of the Balsa a dead person may in certain cases return from the Land of the Dead (*kpilung teng*) as a ghost (*kok*, pl. *kokta*). These revenants are believed to have been wizards or witches (*sakpak*, pl. *sakpaksa*), harmful anti-social human beings, in their lifetime. The dead (*kpilima*), their former relatives, do not admit them to the Land of the Dead, but send them back to the living, whom they harass. Ghosts will suffer their final death by being eaten by hyenas or by getting drowned.

Only a few Balsa folktales mention *sakpaksa* in connection with ghosts. Thus in a story (BUL-E0403):

There lived a woman and her son together with two [other] women who were witches (*sakpaksa*). They went out for other people's flesh. Any time they brought flesh to the house, they gave some to the woman [the boy's mother]. Then one day the witches told the woman that every day they went out for the flesh they brought her some and so they too had to have some flesh from her.¹ The woman did not know what to do because she did not know where and how to get a person's flesh for the witches. So one day the woman caught her son and killed [him] for the witches. A few days [after his death] the boy became a ghost (*kok*), came to the room of his mother, took his drum out of the room and was sitting in front of the room. Immediately [after] he sat down he saw many people come crying to his house [came mourning, singing funeral dirges], and he started to play his drum and

¹I.e. she had to reciprocate the gifts of human flesh from the other two women.

he sang a song entitled: "No one should cry for him because it was his own mother who killed him for witches and that he did not die by the power of God", i.e. a "natural" death.

In some other Bulsa stories, however, a son returns from the dead as a ghost in order to help his mother rebuild her room which had fallen down during the rainy season.

The ghost built the room while his mother formed the earth balls and gave them to him. The next morning the people of the house [or clan] got up and saw a mud wall standing, which had been [newly] built. They said: "Oh, just who is it who built it for her?" They watched and watched secretly, but failed [to discover who had built the mud wall]. While the ghost son was building, he sang a song praising the strength of his mother. While he was singing this, a hyena listened and kept on watching him secretly and then sneaked up to him from behind. The hyena went [---] and swallowed [the ghost]. His mother got up and fled. The people in the neighbourhood heard how the ghost cried in his agony and they became afraid too.

The teller ended his story with the words: "This is also the reason why in our country they do not build houses at night. Night is [the time when] dreadful beasts and the dead [the spirits of the ancestors] (*nganbuuma ale kpilima*²) roam about."

Although there is a clear phenomenological and terminological differentiation in Buli between *kpilima*, 'dead people, ancestors' and *kokta*, '(malevolent) ghosts', the two categories merge in some Bulsa stories and, probably, in everyday religious thought. Ghosts (*kokta*) are frequently involved in family conflicts.

The burial of a corpse is never mentioned in Bulsa folktales, nor are the complex funeral ceremonies described in detail, although – or because – they are of greatest social and religious import. In many Bulsa stories a ghost returns to the living and participates in the funeral of a

²*Ngan-buuma*, sing. *ja-buui*, composed of the words *jaab*, pl. *nganta*, 'thing; beast', 'dreadful, wild beast or creature (unspecified, unknown [---])' (Kröger 1992), and *buui*, 'something', 'the one which'.

close relative. Without recognising him or her as a ghost, the mourning relatives embrace him or her, as is the custom of the Bulsa. According to their belief anybody who has touched a ghost (Mot. E542) will die himself. This motif of relatives doomed to death occurs frequently in Bulsa stories. Several ghost stories refer to the ethics of the nuclear family among the Bulsa: its members are bound up with one another even after death. The funeral ceremonies express this familial solidarity.

Clifford Geertz wrote in his famous treatise on *Religion as a Cultural System*:

The religious perspective differs from the common-sensical in that [---] it moves beyond the realities of everyday life to wider ones which correct and complete them, and its defining concern is not action upon these wider realities but acceptance of them, faith in them. [---] It is this sense of the 'really real' upon which the religious perspective rests and which the symbolic activities of religion as a cultural system are devoted to in producing, intensifying, and, so far as possible, rendering inviolable by the discordant revelations of secular experience. (Geertz 1966: 27-28)

The "reality" of religious beliefs and practices of the Bulsa concerning death and the dead is only partly congruent with the fictitious world drawn in their folktales. For those who do not share their faith, for the unbelievers, the religious ideas are, of course, also fictive; tales about religious beliefs and practices are, therefore, in *this* perspective doubly fictive. This, however, is irrelevant in our present context: for those who share the religious convictions of the Bulsa, they are the "really real" (Geertz) as opposed to the "false" appearances of the empirical world.

The incongruence of the religious "reality" concerning death and the dead with the description of these in the folktales is evident (1) in that many important beliefs and practices of the Bulsa are never or hardly ever mentioned, let alone detailed as a subject in their folktales. (2) On the other hand, the folktales dealing with death and the dead present subjects and processes which are irrelevant or even non-existent in Bulsa religion and, all the more so, in their everyday life: e.g. a female ogre with half a body, the resuscitation of a person burnt to ashes, suitors who change into pythons, dead persons or ghosts, the

singing of songs of the dead which kill the singers, the building of houses by ghosts at night, the suicide of friends who promised to kill themselves when the other one died, etc.

What are the reasons for this divergence between the "reality" of the religious world-view of the Balsa and the representation of religious figures and processes in their narrations? The most obvious answer to this question is that the essence of folktales (*Märchen*) lies in the alienation effect (*Verfremdungseffekt*) produced by non-real, fictitious figures and processes. This deviance from "reality" – religious "reality" included – is also characteristic of fictitious genres such as folktales of non-literate peoples such as the Balsa formerly were.

This of course does not mean that there is no relation between Balsa religion and their folktales. In many respects these folktales do refer to the "reality" as it is conceived by the religious believer among the Balsa. The belief in the eminent role the dead play in the life of their descendants is reflected in their folktales as clearly as their belief in the evil doings of wizards and witches who change into ghosts (*kokta*) after their death.

The main function of the Balsa folktales seems to be the representation of social tensions and conflicts. The folktales about death and the dead serve the moral purpose of making evident social problems caused by people who refuse to accept their prescribed roles in society or who refuse to adapt their behaviour to the social norms which are in this African society always supported by religious sanctions. As I said above, any unsocial behaviour may conjure the dead or cause death. Few of the Balsa folktales have a "happy end" – in this respect they are very different from our *Märchen* of which Lutz Röhrich (1956: 189) says in his fundamental dissertation on *Märchen und Wirklichkeit* (*Fairy-tales and Reality*):

As a rule, the fairy-tale describes the surmounting of obstacles, the harmonic solution of all problems and the restitution of the natural order. The fairy-tale as a means of coping with the difficulties of life – here lies the true, 'real' happiness of the good ending of the fairy-tale [...].

Röhrich (1956: 188) has, on the other hand, pointed to various con-

flicts treated also in European folktales, and what he says concerning them applies even more to the folktales of the Bulsa:

[---] almost every fairy-tale knows very serious *conflict situations* [italics by Röhrich]; [---] The generational problem, conflicts between parents and their children play a great role in very many fairy-tales; but also other family problems, as e.g. the ingratitude and infidelity of husband and wife [---].

The supernatural powers and beings invoked in the folktales of the Bulsa bring these conflicts to a solution – though not necessarily to a happy end. As social conflicts are the true topics of these folktales, the “ordinary” religious life, based on and aiming at harmony in the relations between the living and the dead and the living among themselves, plays a minor role in these folktales. As I said above ancestor worship, the sacrifices to the *tanggbana*, the Earth shrines, and other beliefs and practices marking the everyday religious life of the Bulsa are hardly ever talked about in their folktales.

As a hypothesis needing further systematic research I propose that folktales reflect only the “neuralgic spots” of religious and social life, i.e. the spheres of uncertainty, anxiety and conflict.

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The Folk Interpretation of Orthodox Religion in Karelia from an Anthropological Perspective

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In 1907 a priest from Salmi wrote in the Finnish Orthodox periodical *Aamun Koitto*:

This parish is undoubtedly the most obscure and most ignorant in our country. The most obscure and most ignorant even of its own religion amongst the Finnish Orthodox population. In this parish, members of the Orthodox Church live in the lowest kind of ignorance and magic-belief. The godly truths of the Orthodox Church here are hidden from the ordinary people by a thick blanket of ignorance and superstition. [---] In a word, the people outwardly perform all that the church requires, but without knowing its real significance, not knowing, for example, such a thing as the meaning of making the sign of the cross, not to mention other outward customs. [---] One encounters crudity and superstition wherever one looks.¹

The priest went on to describe what he meant by ignorance and superstition, naming the use of the term *jumala* (god) to refer to saints, the worshipping of icons, using inappropriate pictures as icons, such as cutting out pictures of some bishop, archbishop or metropolitan from a newspaper, pasting it to a piece of wood and putting in the holy corner as an icon.²

¹*Kirjeitä Karjalasta*, AK 1907, no. 2: 17.

²*Kirjeitä Karjalasta*, AK 1907, no. 2: 32.

He might also have mentioned the practice of using icons as objects of magical power in magic rituals, the close exchange relationship between persons and saints, stories told of God and the saints which do not fit with teachings of the church, and drinking, dancing and revelry at church festivals.

All of these practices are examples of institutional religious teachings being changed, adapted, or used in new ways at the level of the 'folk', or the people. The difference between institutional religious teachings and beliefs and practices at the level of the people has been described with terms such as 'religion as prescribed' versus 'religion as practiced', or 'official' versus 'popular religion'. In this paper I wish to address the question of popular religion in Orthodox Karelia, particularly Ladoga Karelia, focusing on the parishes of Salmi, Suojärvi, Suistamo and Sortavala. I use as my research material approximately 100 descriptions of folk beliefs and practices associated with religion from the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki. The descriptions were recorded in the three areas of Orthodox Karelia – the Viena, Aunus and Ladoga regions, with most of them from the Ladoga parish of Salmi. They were collected between the beginning of the century and the early 1960s, but most recordings were made in the 1930s.

The term 'popular religion' refers to forms of Christianity which may derive from and are practiced at the level of 'the people' but which are *in a dialogue with the church* and which are linked to it in subtle ways. Popular religion has often been viewed simply as a set of colorful practices or beliefs to be described and catalogued, consisting of quaint superstitions or pagan relics (magic, beliefs in the evil eye, the healing power of saints, pre-Christian agricultural rites, etc.). In the eyes of religious officials, popular religion is usually seen as ignorance or misconstrual of teachings of the church.

Anthropologists in Catholic Southern Europe and Orthodox Greece, however, have approached the question of popular religion from another direction and have identified some common denominators of popular religion in these areas. Many of these common features are also true of popular religion in Orthodox Karelia, although there are certain differences which I will discuss.

Because 'religious' folklore such as folk belief descriptions, religious

legends, belief legends, local historical tales and even some magic incantations is one of the primary means by which popular religion is expressed, this anthropological perspective on popular religion may provide folklorists with a larger analytical framework for the study of this type of folklore.

The societies of Orthodox Karelia (at the end of the last and the beginning of this century) and Southern Europe (roughly between 1930-1980) had a number of factors in common which makes it possible to compare them in this paper: both of these areas were rural and relatively poor, people lived in peripheral areas in small communities, often having little contact with urban centers; they were peasants living off of the land, they had strong folk belief traditions and were still practicing magic; they had similar concepts concerning the evil eye and envy, harmful disease agents, and they used magic at similar points in the life cycle. Both societies had representatives of the institutional religion – the village or parish priests – in their midst, and traditionally the church services of both types of Christianity were conducted in a language not understood by the local population.

Of course one can expect differences in the popular religious expression of these two areas: each had its unique social and cultural characteristics, its own substratum of pre-Christian folk beliefs and methods of magic. Besides, the Catholic and Orthodox Churches can be expected to influence the beliefs and practices of these areas in different ways. In general, Orthodoxy tends to be more 'other-world' oriented, confining its authority largely to the realm of the spiritual whereas Catholicism has focused its mission on 'this world', extending its influence into law and politics and emphasizing and debating the importance of deeds and 'works' for individual salvation (Badone 1990; Bowman 1991). Popular concepts and practices dealing with 'this world' have thus met with fewer opposing models in Orthodoxy, which has more fully integrated popular religion within institutionalized frameworks. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, has always striven to maintain a more well-defined boundary between those worldly activities deemed suitable for the attainment of salvation and those outside of institutional approval.

A less extreme *social* distance between priests and laity in the Orthodox religion has also contributed to the integration of 'popular' and

'official' aspects of Orthodoxy: parish priests in Orthodox communities have tended to be closer to their parishioners in terms of wealth, social power, education and marital status than Catholic priests (Badone 1990: 11). However, in Karelia there was often an ethnic and linguistic difference between priests and laity: priests were often Russians who usually did not speak Karelian.

I now present some general features of official versus popular religion that we find in both Southern Europe and Orthodox Karelia.

- **First**, popular religion makes use of *syncretism*, in this case the fusion of what the church defines as 'magical' and 'religious' elements, although the folk users do not necessarily see a difference between these two. In Karelia, this includes the use of icons and other religious objects in 'magic' rituals, the 'incantation prayer' in which a divine being is asked for help (sometimes this is a pre-Christian divinity, sometimes God, Jesus, Mary or a saint). Magic also plays a role in legend-like tales of religious men such as monks who used magic.³ A major difference in Southern Europe is that the use of pre-Christian divinities in prayer, for instance, appears to be very rare.

- A **second** aspect of the 'divide' between popular and official religion frequently commented upon by anthropologists is the difference between *the people's view that religion should foster reciprocal and community relations* and that religion has to do with the demands made on a person by his or her loved ones; and the church's view that *the goal of religion is individual salvation*. One example of this was the common custom in both Orthodox Karelia and Southern Europe of taking a pilgrimage or visiting a particular shrine not in order to deepen one's own inner spirituality but in order to seek a cure for a sick or crippled relative or friend.

- **Third**, the emphasis on community is also linked to the observation that popular religion is used in the creation and maintenance of local identities. Local festivals strengthen ties within the community while defining the community as different from its neighbors. In continuing the annual cycle of religious festivals (known as *fiesta* in South-

³Salmi. 1935-40. M. Pelkonen 269. – Tatjana "Hötti", formerly "Jarone", 69 years; Impilähti. 1936. Juho Kuronen KT 129:45. – Anni Ruuskanen, born 1897 and Klaudia Ruuskanen (born 1912, died 1929).

ern Catholic Europe, *praasniekka* in Orthodox Karelia), one can say that the community is being defined through religion. In both Southern Europe and Orthodox Karelia, each village had its own patron saint and its own festival day. This cycle of festivals was very important to people, they knew long lists of festival days of the surrounding villages and visited many of them.

The anthropologist Joyce Riegelhaupt wrote concerning Portugal:

In a society characterized by lack of corporate activities, by a lack of voluntary associations, and by relatively self-sufficient and self-contained household units, it is only through religious *festas* that the villagers do manifest the oneness of their experience and needs. (1973: 850)

It appears that the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches take a different approach to this localizing tendency of popular religion. The modern Catholic Church in Portugal, for example, is opposed to local festivals: the modern church focuses on the salvation of the individual and his/her loyalty to God, the family and the state, and it does not see itself as the institution through which communal identity should be expressed and celebrated.

The Orthodox Church in Karelia, on the other hand, has rarely criticized the existence of the *praasniekka* institution, although it may criticize the behavior connected to it.

- **Fourth**, anthropologists and other social scientists have noted that popular religion tends to be expressed in more concrete terms than institutionalized forms of religion, through sight, sound and bodily movement. According to the anthropologist Jill Dubisch, popular religion is "more outward than inward looking, more concerned with external images, with the public and communal than with the interior or mystic" (1990: 129).

For example, in popular religion, saints are often considered to be the same thing as their images (in Southern Italy, wooden church images; in Karelia, icons). Sometimes people do not seem to recognize the concept of God or saints dwelling in heaven rather than on earth in a concrete form. On his trip to the parish of Salmi, the folklore col-

lector Arvid Genetz was perplexed by one of his hostesses who answered to his question whether God in heaven helped her in sickness: "They don't know anything in heaven, this icon here helps me," referring to an icon of St. Miikkula (Genetz 1870: 103).

This also explains the important role of visual representations of saints and God: in Orthodox Karelia these are most commonly icons; in Catholic popular religion they are *ex votos*, hand-painted scenes or pictures of a saint or miraculous event, hung in churches or shrines. Cheap reproductions of saint's likenesses are also bought in Catholic Southern Europe during festivals or other religious events and taken home. Again we find a difference between the Catholic and Orthodox Church: icons are part of the institutional Orthodox Church, *ex votos* and reproductions are tolerated, but not officially incorporated by the Catholic Church

- A **fifth** aspect is the different view of the human-saint relationship taken by official and popular religion. At the highest levels of the Catholic Church the role of the saint is considered limited to that of an intercessor with God on behalf of human supplicants, and any appeals to them for miracles or other benefits are therefore seen to be inappropriate. The situation is similar in Karelian Orthodoxy: as the priest from Salmi mentioned earlier complained in 1907:

The teachings of the Orthodox Church command us to honor and remember the works and lives of those holy people whose pictures we use as holy icons...but in no way to worship them...these ignorant people actually call icons 'gods'...⁴

In both Catholic and Orthodox Karelian popular religion the saint is more concrete, more human and more intimately involved with the lives of his/her devotees than the church would like. In popular religion, saints were seen to have their own miraculous powers which they could use for good or bad. Folk legends, which are often not recognized by the church, told about the lives and deeds of the saints in ways that made the saint more human, liable to making mistakes, for example, and in the case of St. Nikolas (Miikkula), the most popular

⁴Kirjeitä Karjalasta, AK 1907, no. 2: 32.

Karelian saint, the legends described him as caring and concerned, a merciful saint whose help was always near.⁵ Numerous local legends also told of visits made by God, Jesus or a saint to that particular place, making the holy person seem closer, more familiar. This intimate relationship meant that people could even make jokes about a saint. For example, in one village in Salmi, people said playfully that St. Miikkula had stolen flour from the mill, since it appeared from his icon that he had flour on his beard.⁶

Furthermore, the saint and his devotees are perceived to have a reciprocal relationship based on the same rule of reciprocity which governs rural village life. As the anthropologist Mia di Tota wrote concerning Southern Italy:

People not only worship the saints and think they have power to protect human beings and perform miracles, but they also engage in reciprocal transactions with the saints. They give gifts to the saints in order to get a return in the form of protection or a miracle, and a votive if they receive what they ask for. (1981: 321)

The same was true in Karelia, where people maintained close, practical relationships of exchange with various saints. Each saint in a particular place had his or her own function, usually associated with economy or subsistence. This included help in growing grain or raising cattle, horses and sheep, help in hunting or fishing. Some functions could be highly specialized: one informant told that when she was a young girl in school in the beginning of this century, she prayed and lit candles to certain saints who specialized in helping students learn their lessons.⁷

The obligations of the human devotees included lighting candles in front of the saints' icons, bringing offerings or gifts of food, alcoholic

⁵Salmi. 1935-40. M. Pelkonen 410. – Johor Lammas the elder; Suistamo. 1936. Martta Kähmi 75; Aunus. 1938. Niilo Leppänen 301; Porajärvi. 1943. Helmi Helminen 1898. – Ivan Hermonen, 75 years; Sammatus. 1943. Helmi Helminen 1818. – Paraskovja Kurshijev, born 1886.

⁶Salmi. 1935-40. M. Pelkonen 414. – Anni Spiridonantytär Lammas, formerly Herranen; Salmi. 1935-40. M. Pelkonen 413. – Johor Lammas the elder.

⁷Salmi. 1937. Ulla Mannonen 5031. – Martta Kuha, 54 years.

drink, wool or butter, or sacrificing animals in the saints' honor, or observing the saint's day by not performing work associated with the saint on that day. Vows or promises involving pilgrimage and monasteries were also part of this exchange relationship. Pilgrimage journeys were made either before or after a miraculous healing.⁸ Children could also be 'promised' to a monastery if they recovered from misfortune,⁹ and a 'substitute' pilgrim could make the pilgrimage journey in order to seek a cure for someone else too ill to travel.¹⁰

Not fulfilling one's part of the exchange bargain could result in punishment by the saint: if one did not honor the patron saint of the local chapel in the proper way, the saint could punish that person with an illness or accident. Sometimes a sorcerer could tell the victim if the misfortune was caused by the saint,¹¹ in other cases the disease's origin was revealed in a dream.¹² It was then necessary to go immediately to the shrine, light candles and bring gifts, money, and/or food in order to appease the saint.

In another example, if someone in Orthodox Karelia prayed to St. Miikkula before leaving on a journey and promised to give money to the church if the journey was successful, but failed to give the promised amount, it was believed that St. Miikkula was likely to become angry and take his payment anyway: the person's cow or horse might die, or the person might get sick.¹³

On the other hand, a saint's followers can threaten, insult and punish the saint if he or she fails to respond or fulfill his/her obligation. Examples in Southern Italy include the ethnologist Annamaria Rivera's (1988) description of how participants at the annual ceremony of the Miracle of San Gennaro in Naples (in which the dried blood of San Gennaro becomes liquid) yelled abuse at the saint and called him a

⁸Impilahti. 1938. PK 5258. Mikko Jaakkola; Uhtua. 1894. K.F. Karjalainen, Karjalan Kielen Sanakirjan arkisto, Kotimainen Kielen Tutkimus Keskus.

⁹Suistamo. 1959. Siiri Oulasmaa E 241: 132. – Anna Votkin (formerly Kalevainen), 68 years.

¹⁰Suistamo. 1959. Siiri Oulasmaa E 246: 213-214, told by Parakeeva Makkonen.

¹¹Suojärvi. 1941. Viktor Hankka 88; Säämäjärvi. 1928-9. E. V. Ahtia, Karjalan Kielen Sanakirjan arkisto, Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus.

¹²Oulu. 1930. Samuli Paulaharju 13732. Anni Lehtonen, 50 years.

¹³Salmi. 1937. Ulla Mannonen 4982. – Martta Kuha, 54 years.

traitor when the miracle was late in occurring. Similarly, Mia di Tota described a story told to her in a Southern Italian village:

The patron saint of the village is Sant-Antonio who, among other things, also protects against fire. A fire had broken out on the hillside that surrounded the village, and people ran to the church and begged Sant-Antonio to stop the fire. But the fire continued toward the village. People then brought the saint [that is, the statue of the saint] out of the church and carried him to the area which the fire had reached. They placed him right in front of the fire and threatened: "Stop the fire or you will burn up". The fire stopped, and Sant-Antonio was brought back to the church. (1981: 328)

The same is also true in Karelia: a saint could also be punished for failing to fulfill his part of what was perceived to be a bargain. In one story, an old man in Suojärvi prayed to St. Elijah (Ilja) while burning candles beneath the icon, offering pie and alcohol and saying to him, "Saint Ilja, watch over my cows so that bears don't get them." But a bear happened to kill the best cow, and then the old man became furious, took an axe and went to the icon and said, "I fed you with my best pies and gave you my best spirits and this is the miracle you gave me." And with the axe he destroyed the icon of St. Ilja.¹⁴

• **Sixth**, the 'concrete', tangible nature of popular religion is also the basis for the dispute over what is 'proper' behavior in sacred spaces and at sacred events. In many places the Catholic Church hierarchy has fought against what it sees as inappropriate activities in religious contexts: dancing, singing, drinking, making noise, competitions, fire-works, peddling and selling near the sacred site, and other types of chaotic, uncontrolled behavior. However the people themselves rarely see these activities as sacrilegious or disrespectful, and consequently religious authorities have often had little success in enforcing their views (Tentori 1982: 132-135; Driessen 1984: 77; Brettell 1990: 60-64; Moreno 1992: 37-48). Similar attitudes were held by church officials in Orthodox Karelia, especially in the 1930s, when the Orthodox priest Aleksanteri Ryttyläinen from the parish of Korpiselkä complained about

¹⁴Ruskeala. 1937. Santeri Huovinen 105.

drinking and uncivil behavior at *praasniekkas* among the youth.¹⁵ Similar complaints during the 1930s came from priests in Suojärvi and Suistamo, among other places.

• **Seventh**, another tendency of popular religion is that the sacred symbols and personalities of Christianity become less unitary and universal, and more fragmented and localized (e.g. di Nola 1976). In other words they are made more intimate and 'everyday' than the church is often comfortable with. The places and occasions for worship also tend to be greater at the popular level. In both Southern Europe and Orthodox Karelia the church is not the only place for the exercise of faith: this can take place in the home, at small shrines spread over the landscape, or at local festivals (e.g. Freeman 1978). In Karelia, people worshipped sites containing traces that holy persons had left behind: their footprints, impressions in stone where they had sat or slept, the magic rocks on which they sailed across the water.¹⁶ People made special efforts to visit these places and honor them. Information about these places was spread through folklore: through local legends and tales.

In Orthodox Karelia the 'sacred' was also found regularly in public places or offices such as the post-office. According to one informant, visitors to the post-office in a Salmi village at the turn of the century always made the sign of the cross to the icon hanging on the post-office when entering. The new Lutheran post-mistress felt that this was not the proper place for an icon and took the icon down, but had to put it back up again when it was clear that the Orthodox customers were disappointed and even bitter about it.¹⁷

An interesting feature of Karelian Orthodox popular religion *which does not show up in Catholic Southern Europe* is the anonymity and ambiguity of sacred persons, that is, neither the official names of the saints

¹⁵Aleksanteri Ryttyläinen. 1935: *Uskonnollisen elämän yleinen luonne*, in SOAKA F.a.1, 1935.

¹⁶Sortavala. KT 137. Selma Saikkonen 120. 1936; Impilahti. Sanni Tiensuu a) 102. 1936; Priazha. SKSÄ 113. 1992; Suistamo. Siiri Oulasmaa a) 6209. 1961; Pyhäjärvi (Karelian Isthmus) V.1. KRK. Yrjö Kinnari 256; Salmi. 1946. O. Harju 3868; Salmi. KRK Pekka Pohjanvalo 143; Impilahti. Sanni Tiensuu a)102. 1936. – Maria Mäntylä, b. 1882.

¹⁷Salmi. 1957-8. Elsa Pukonen 248. – Mandi Mäkirinne, formerly Härkönen, born 1885.

nor the clear division between and hierarchy among God and the saints are always important on the popular level. Thus in 1870, Arvid Genetz reported a conversation with a woman in Salmi, in which the woman said she didn't know how many 'gods' there were, perhaps one, or two, or nine. In listing the 'gods' she knew, she named several Orthodox saints plus 'the white-haired' saint. When Genetz asked, but doesn't God have a son named Jesus Christ, the woman answered: "How are we supposed to know, us [ignorant] people?" (Genetz 1870: 103).

This is true of popular religious belief even in Aunus Karelia today: here I am referring to fieldwork conducted by a Finnish-Karelian research team in 1991, 1992 and 1994.¹⁸ After six decades of religious suppression in the former Soviet Union, the degree of moral commitment and the amount of folk information one possesses in one's relations with sacred beings is more important than following an official system of naming divine beings in differentiating the believer from the non-believer. Thus one woman, after praying to St. Miikkula, had a dream in which "some other *god*, I don't know who" came to say that she had been on the right path.¹⁹ Another woman, in pointing out her icon of Mary and Jesus, said she didn't know who it was, some "woman with a child."²⁰

This difference between Orthodox and Catholic popular religion may be due to the fact that the presence and influence of the Catholic Church has been continuously strong for centuries in Southern Europe, while there have been times in Karelia when the Orthodox Church has not been able to have such a deep influence on the beliefs of the ordinary people.

¹⁸The fieldwork was carried out in the district of Priazha in the Karelian Republic in the summers of 1991, 1992 and the autumn of 1994. In 1991, the research team consisted of Irma-Riitta Järvinen and Senni Timonen from the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, Terhi Utriainen from the Finnish Academy and Nina Lavonen and Aleksandra Stepanova from the Karelian Academy of Sciences, Petrozavodsk. Seppo Seppälä documented the research on videotape. In 1992 the research team consisted of Irma-Riitta Järvinen, Nina Lavonen and Senni Timonen, and in 1994 it consisted of Irma-Riitta Järvinen, Nina Lavonen, Senni Timonen and Terhi Utriainen. The video and tape-recorded material from all field seasons is located in the Tape Recording Archive of the Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki.

¹⁹SKSÄ 112. 1992. My emphasis.

²⁰SKSÄ 117. 1992.

Another unique feature of Karelian Orthodox popular religion is that dead relatives are also a part of the sacred: they could be prayed to like saints for aid and guidance, and the living were supposed to fulfill certain obligations in return, visiting graves and bringing food for the dead.²¹ This is also still true today in Aunus Karelia (Stark et al. 1996).

- **Eighth**, not all symbols used in popular religion and popular religious rituals are religious symbols: current symbols from 'outside' the context of religion are adopted to keep the ritual or practice interesting, relevant and meaningful for contemporary participants. Thus in Southern Catholic Europe we find symbols from politics and sports mixed with religious symbols in festival processions (Lahti 1994), for example, and in the Karelian parish of Salmi, the anonymous priest mentioned at the beginning of this article also complained that the holy corner in the Orthodox home, which is meant only for the icon, was often decorated with various pictures cut from cigarette boxes or other pictures of persons or current events cut from newspapers.²² In other words, in both Southern Europe and Karelia, the church wanted to keep religious observance 'pure' with only the 'religious' symbols defined by the church, while the folk did not place this limitation on the sacred.

- **Lastly**, anti-clerical attitudes and stories criticizing the greed, drunkenness or sexuality of church leaders or officials. It is important to understand that this discourse represents a type of resistance against the social, political and/or economic power of the church and its institutions, not against religion itself (e.g. Christian 1972: 152). In Southern Catholic Europe these negative attitudes are directed against priests, but in Orthodox Ladoga Karelia they seem to be directed primarily against monasteries such as Valamo, which were the primary institutions of wealth and power in that region.

One story tells of the Valamo monastery treasurer stealing the monastery's money and running away with a nun he had made pregnant,

²¹Suojärvi. 1950. Frans Kärki 5030. – Maria, formerly Markoo Koukkunen; Suojärvi. 1909. U. Holmberg b) 573; Salmi. 1961. Elsa Jaatinen TK 26:183; Vuokkiniemi. 1932. Samuli Paulaharju 18235. – Anni Lehtonen; Suistamo. 1929. A. Rissanen. Karjalan Kielen Sanakirjan arkisto, Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus.

²²*Kirjeitä Karjalasta*, AK 1907, no. 2: 32.

while a similar narrative mentions only the affair with the nun: in both versions the scandalous events cancel plans for a nunnery on Vossinoin Island.²³ One narrator who had worked near Konevitsa monastery reported how a young woman who had raised funds to build a chapel on the spot where she had seen a vision of three angels had to testify in court in Pyhäjärvi "because the monks had assaulted her while she was praying in her own church and also in the monastery."²⁴ Yet another tale denounces the greed, sexuality and hypocrisy of the most powerful man of an unnamed monastery, the Igumen. In this story, a wise old hermit (who rides a bear and performs miracles) is summoned by the Igumen who criticizes him for eating meat. In the course of the hermit's visit, he demonstrates that the Igumen too, eats meat and that he has fathered a child, blamed another and has bribed the child's mother to conceal his actions. The Igumen is dismissed and the position offered to the hermit who refuses it and returns to the forest.²⁵

In conclusion, it may be better to speak of the difference between 'popular' and 'official' religion in terms of the concept of the 'sacred': here the 'sacred' is viewed as a resource over which different groups compete for control. In other words, in the case of the **institutionally-defined sacred**, the church tries to monopolize the sacred by limiting it, fixing it, naming it, placing a distance between it and people; the sacred becomes something one can be separated from *if one does not follow the institutional rules of the church*, and if one does not perform individual, inner, spiritual self-examination. The priest is the mediator between an ordinary person and the sacred, and the *church officialdom* defines the norms of how to relate to the sacred through church teachings. The **popularly-defined sacred**, on the other hand, is characterized by expansion, fluidity, plurality and anonymity, and a close, personal, unmediated interaction with it. You can be separated from it if you do not follow sacred and *communal norms of reciprocity*, do not fulfill obligations in exchange relationships, (these include obligations to community – divine power can avenge neighbors or others). The sacred is kept relevant and practical for everyday life and needs in 'this world'

²³Sortavala. KRK 141. Hyvärinen, J. 205. 1935; Jaakkima. Th. Schwindt VK 89:71. 1879.

²⁴Sortavala. PK 30. Juho Saikkonen 5391. 1938.

²⁵Porajärvi. 1884. Kaarle Krohn 6733.

(making a living, keeping one's health, being safe from harm), and is also important for community identity. *The community* defines the norms of how to relate to the sacred through narrative and discourse.

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The Meanings of the *karu* in Aunus Karelian Folk Belief

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In this paper I shall analyse narratives about a Karelian mythological being called *karu*. People in Aunus Karelia¹ have spoken about the *karu* in legends and memorates, in sacred legends and in folktales, and it is referred to in numerous sayings and beliefs. It is a being with a twofold character: it functions both as the forest spirit and the devil. As the devil it has a more limited character than e.g. the devil in Estonian folk belief, which is characterised by a multitude of motifs from Indo-European mythologies far beyond Christian mythology (Valk 1994). Nor does the *karu* mean the bear, as in Estonian; the bear is called *kondie* in Aunus Karelian. The concept *karu* as noun, in the meaning of 'a being of the other world', was used and is still used in a fairly restricted area in Aunus Karelia, namely in the area stretching from Lake Ladoga to Lake Onega. On the other hand, the word *karu* as an adjective meaning 'harsh, barren' of a character or 'fruitless, stony' of the earth or ground is used all over Finland and in the meaning of 'very bad', 'poor' and 'ill' in other areas of Karelia.² In any case, the concept bears very negative connotations.

The interesting questions are, then, how these different meanings

¹Aunus Karelia is situated between Lake Ladoga and lake Onega in Russia, and it is part of the Republik of Karelia. The number of inhabitants in Karelia is about 800.000, but ethnically only 10 % of them are Karelians nowadays, due to Stalin's policy; 74% are Russians, 7% Byelorussians, 4% Ukrainians, 2% Ingrians and Finns (Jokipii 1995: 330). The Karelians speak various dialects of the Karelian language; in Aunus the dialect is called Aunus Karelian or Livvi.

²*Karjalan kielen sanakirja* (Dictionary of Karelian Language), part 2. Helsinki 1974.

were, and still are, constructed and used, how the collective and the individual conceptions of the narrators meet, and, speaking of Karelian folk belief, how the Christian conceptions intertwine with the old ethnic ones.

My material for this study comes from three sources: from the collections of the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society,³ from the collections of the Karelian dictionary in the Research Institute for the Languages in Finland, Helsinki, and from my own recent fieldwork which I conducted with my colleagues in Aunus three times between 1991 and 1994. The archived material dates from the period between 1920 and 1944.

The functions of the *karu* as a forest spirit

The *karu* as a spirit of the forest functions in the narratives of the Aunus area in various ways, which are the following: 1) the most common theme in the narratives deals with the forest covering, hiding an animal (usually a cow or a calf) or a human being, 2) making people go astray in the forest, and 3) haunting, scaring people. All of these three aspects are present in the old archived texts as well as in the recent fieldwork material. An interesting link to the "ordinary" works of the devil, widespread also in the Western Finnish belief legends, lies in the fact that in many cases the *karu* takes, that is, the forest covers a child after he or she has been cursed by the mother or an adult. 'Being under the cover' in the forest is usually described as a period of three days or one week, and the crisis is solved by the sorcerer who is able to bind the forest by connecting the tops of three small trees and thus make the *karu* to speak up what has happened, like in the following report from our informant A. G.:

My father said: he saw the *karus*. He said: our cow had disappeared, it didn't come home, a white cow. But there was an old man, a sorcerer in this village, and he was able to call the *karus*. It was the *karu* who covered the

³The belief legends about the forest spirit that I have used are found in the card file index, types K 1-100 and K 201-300, according to Lauri Simonsuuri's system.

cows, they said in the old days. "I'll go and ask," my father said. The sorcerer asked him: "Are you coming along, Filip Semyonovich, are you not afraid?" "No, I'm not afraid, because you are there." "Do not speak, whatever you see," the sorcerer said. Then he called those *karu*, and they came. It was like a strong wind in the forest, and a man appeared, tall, tall, like that... And then the old man asked: "Here I have Filip Semyonovich whose cow has disappeared, is it behind you?" he asks, "I will give you presents" (it is necessary to give them presents, sheep or something). "No, it is not behind us, it is behind the master of the water." My father said that all his hair rose up, when such a man appeared. And they went to look for the cow, and they found it, it was drowned by the stream. The *karu* had told them: the cow is behind the master of the water. (SKSÄ. KN 13: 8. 1994)

Some characteristics of the *karu* described here and in other narratives coincide with those found in the Russian tradition about the spirit of the forest, *leshij*, in the neighbourhood of the Karelians: it is a man, and very tall or as tall as the highest trees (Oinas 1985: 99; Hellberg 1988: 47-48). The gleaming buttons, which the Karelians sometimes refer to when speaking about the master of the forest, are attributed by Felix Oinas to the military attire of fugitive soldiers, who had fled to Karelian forests from the long Russian military service, which could last for 25 years in the 19th century (Oinas 1985: 91-92).

The two other functions of the *karu* – making people go astray in the forest, and haunting, also emphasise the malevolent nature of this spirit. The people in Aunus have numerous accounts about going astray in the forest, and this is caused, they explain, by crossing by mistake the path of the *karu*: after that you don't understand, where you are. The forest is depicted as a huge trap filled by unseen paths or borders, which you cannot cross without danger. The only solution to the problem, according to the tradition, is to take off the clothes, flick them, and put them on again – this solution is referred to in both old and new accounts by the following words: "It occurred to me that it was said: you must undress" (SKS. Suojärvi. M. Haavio 553. 1933). Or: "And then we remembered: mother, father and grandfather had said: if you go astray, you must undress and flick your clothes. If you have crossed the *karu*'s path, you go astray" (SKSÄ. KN 13:14. 1994).

The haunting of the *karus* means that they can appear in groups of men and women in the forest or they can sing in the forest and suddenly disappear, or the singing keeps changing direction all the time.

But why is the *karu*, the spirit of the forest, presented as hostile, or at least upsetting and scary, towards the people? One explanation is offered by scholars who have studied the changes in attitudes towards the forest in Karelian culture. Henni Ilomäki (1988) has compared Karelian hunting charms and the charms used for caring for the cattle. She states that the attitude of the hunter, which historically represents the earlier cultural phase, towards nature is very different from the later worldview of the cattle herder. The hunter is dependant on nature, and tends to negotiate with the spirits who represent the forest, whereas the cattle herder experiences the forest as a strange and dangerous land, above all as pasture, not his or her own land. Matti Sarmela (1994: 143) presents a social and ecological view on this 'forest covers' tradition: it was question of the delicate border between culture and nature, and it was the sorcerer whose task it was to negotiate with the forest spirit who was also the master of wild beasts. The forest spirit had the power over the wild animals in the forest, but he didn't have the right to control the cattle which belonged to culture, not nature.

But how would the connection of the forest spirit with the Christian type of the devil add to our understanding of the nature of this twofold *karu*?

The *karu* as the devil in the Aunus tradition

In the Aunus Karelia region it is the *karu* who is depicted as God's antagonist in the cycle of dualistic creation myths, which were also known in the Baltic countries, as was pointed out by Oskar Loorits (1934: 48). According to these myths of origin, the world is clearly divided into the good and the bad parts, the good things having originated from God, the bad things from the devil (for example, the devil made the rocks, which is troublesome for cultivating the land, and he also made the harmful insects). This strongly dualistic ideology, where the devil is seen as the imitator or 'ape' of God has been traced to the teachings of the Bogomils, a very influential religious sect in the Balkans in the 11th and 12th centuries. It is interesting that, according to

Dmitri Obolensky (1948: 282)⁴ a Russian medieval manuscript has been found in the Solovetsky monastery in Karelia, which has parts remarkably similar to the Secret Book of the Bogomils. The Solovetsky monastery was known as the centre of Old Believers, which was a sect of the Greek Orthodox Church and founded in the 17th century – the Old Believers had plenty of supporters in Karelia.

But the *karu* is not only the antagonist of God in the cosmogonic myths; the same character appears as the opponent of Jesus in the sacred legends interpreting the events around the crucifixion: the *karus* chase after Jesus, and they have a smithy, in which they prepare chains for Jesus in order to capture him; in this context the *karus* may be described with the well-known diabolic features, as having horns and tails (Salmi. J. Hautala & L. Simonsuuri SKSÄ A 136. 1938. – Nastja Rantsi; Salmi. M. Pelkonen 316. 1935-40. – Anna Mikkilä). The *karus* build a swing on the grave of Jesus, but the God makes the church bells; thus people should go to the church at Easter, and not to the swing (Salmi. M. Pelkonen 88. 1935-40. – Stepan Mil'oi; Säämäjärvi, Loginov. KKS. E.V. Ahtia 1926-27); swinging was a popular pastime in Karelia at Easter.

In the example above the leading principle of Karelian folk belief becomes clear: the physical world around us is loaded with mythical symbols, concrete details, which prove that this fight between good and evil, God and the Devil (or *karu*) is still going on all the time, and the human being is the target of the fight. This conception is argued for and constructed in the legends of origin, for example, when speaking about the goodness of the spider:

The spider makes its web in front of the window, and with that net God pulls people up from the kettle of the *karu*. It is a silk web in the other world. When you wake up in the morning, and you see the web, you become happy: God has sent his web. (SKS. Salmi. M. Haavio 1702. 1934.)

This *karu* is also the representative of evil, who is always on the spot when somebody curses or who is ready to seduce humans into sin.

⁴Obolensky is referring to I. Porfiriev, *Sbornik* 17, No. 1, 86, 1877.

The meanings of the *karu* at present

What do people mean, then, when they speak about the *karu* in present-day Aunus? The narratives about the ill-willed *karus* who hide your cow or lead you astray and who live in the forest are still told in Aunus, whereas, it seems, the tradition of God and the *karu* creating the world together or the sacred legends about *karu* chasing and torturing Jesus are not told any more. The Christian type of a *karu*, an antagonist of God and Jesus has lost its strength; this is only natural, as the Christian context has been denied in Karelia during the Soviet time for sixty years.

Yet some of our informants spoke about the *karu* in the sense that connects the *karu* with sin and evil. Our informant J. P. said that "the television is like my *karu*" – the reason was that the television was placed by her sons into the 'holy corner' of her home, in which, traditionally, only the icons should be (SKSÄ. KN 7:26. 1994). With this remark she wanted to point out that she is aware of her sin, and also, that the *karu* is around us all the time, and must be considered. She was very concerned that the healing magic that she used was 'white' magic, and that she wanted to be on the 'good' side, and do good things to people, who asked for her advice. Also A. G. used the concept of *karu* in the meaning of sin or evil when criticising the present-day way of life in Aunus: "There are the *karus*, oh God, *karus*, *karus*... We live in the *karus* ourselves, we do not see God" (SKSÄ. KN 13:14. 1994). When she told about her encounters with the *karus*, she did not, clearly, emphasise her fears, but rather she seemed to consider the element of some strange evil in life. Or maybe she just wanted to hear our opinion about it? She pondered: "Is it true or not true, I don't know...are there *karus* or not... I think..." (SKSÄ. KN 13:9. 1994) or: "Was it a *karu*, I don't know... Here we say that there are such men in the forest, the *karus*" (SKSÄ. KN 13:7. 1994).

I am suggesting here that the old folk belief and the various narratives about the *karu* (devil/forest spirit) are providing the people in Aunus even today a way of speaking symbolically about the concepts of evil and sin, even though the narratives about the devil belonging to the Christian mythology have practically vanished. The concept of the *karu* is offering one way of commenting on the social reality which the people can observe every day.

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Abbreviations:

- KKS = The collections of the Karelian Dictionary at the Research Institute for the Languages in Finland.
- KN = Field tape of the group Järvinen, Lavonen, Timonen and Utriainen at SKSÄ.
- SKS = The Folklore Archives at the Finnish Literature Society.
- SKSÄ = The Sound Recording Section of the Folklore Archives at the Finnish Literature Society.

A Smith in Chains: from *Völundarkvidha* to Estonian Historical Novel

Loone Ots (Tartu)

Introduction

Villu's Fights (*Villu võitlused* 1890) is a historical novel written by the Estonian writer Eduard Bornhöhe (1862-1923). The romantic interpretation of medieval Estonian history concentrates on the St. Thomas' Day uprising at Viljandi castle in 1343. The main character is a smith called Villu. The writer tells the story of Villu's unfulfilled relationship and his unsuccessful fight for the freedom of the Estonians. As compared to the protagonist of Bornhöhe's first novel, *The Avenger* (*Tasuja* 1878) which is also set in 1343, Villu's figure is more realistic and presented without glorification. This influenced the reception of the novel by the readers, too: *Villu's Fights* never became equally popular with *The Avenger*.

The fact that *Villu's Fights* was not successful is certainly connected with the character of Villu. The readers expected to see in him a young adventurous and chivalrous freedom fighter, someone like the Avenger. The protagonist, however, was already more than 30, he was not a free yeoman any more but a serf (although trusted by his master and possessing the rights of a free man). He appears as a rebel only in the last few chapters but he does not become a proper hero there either. Instead of dying a heroic death in a battlefield, Villu is captured and thrown into prison where he spends ten (in the first edition of the novel even 23) years, goes mad and falls ill, and finally dies after long-lasting

sufferings, which shows that the author had discarded the principles of romanticism. Very little is known in fact about the conditions in which the writer worked on the novel, wherefore it is hard to explain why Villu and the Avenger are so different. Bornhöhe's realism in creating Villu might have been influenced by the writer's acquaintance with Leo Tolstoi in the summer of 1889. The question this article is trying to answer though is whether there was a concrete rebel blacksmith who Bornhöhe could have used as a prototype. The primary sources of the analysis are history and literature. At the same time, the fictional image of an Estonian hero smith is likely to have connections with folk tradition. Hence the article also observes the figure of a smith in various genres of Estonian folk poetry.

Historical sources

The St. Thomas' Day uprising in Viljandi castle is described as a historical event in the chronicle by Hoeneke (*The Younger Rhymed Chronicle*, 14th c.) survived in prose. The relevant quotation reads as follows:

Now a number of peasants from Harju had joined together because they wanted to conquer Viljandi. But as they were not able to manage it by force, they invented a plan and had some men be put in rye sacks (which they had to give as tribute yearly) and be taken into the castle this way. But they were betrayed by a woman whose son was among them; she asked them to set him free. So the others were caught and thrown into prison (which is a very deep cellar underground) where they perished. (Kruus 1945)

The same moment is noted down in the chronicle by Balthasar Russow dating from the late 16th century and his contemporary Johann Renner. The former writes that the rebels were slain while the later, like Hoeneke, tells about the capturing. The moment of the uprising as fixed in the chronicles has been analysed in more detail by Sulev Vahtre (1960). Although presented in more than one source, the fact of the secret entry in the castle can hardly be true; it may only be a trace of a migratory legend. This is the "Ali-Baba motif" (invaders enter a castle and hide themselves in vessels, sacks, etc.), as expounded by Karin

Ribenis (1989) and already earlier proved by Gustav Suits (1938). Juhan Luiga proposed a hypothesis that all the events of St. Thomas' Day were fictitious and were created by Germans to justify their genocide in the district of Viljandi (1924), but his suggestion was refuted by Juhan Libe (1925) and Suits (1938). There is not a single document preserved in writing which would mention a smith or anybody called Villu as a participant in the uprising.

Folklore

It is possible that Villu, as presented by Bornhöhe, a writer of early national literature, is related to the figure of the smith as he appears in Estonian folk poetry. So his origin could be elucidated by studying the main genres of folk tradition. The following is an overview of the results of my research into folk songs, folktales and proverbs.

A. Folk songs

The amount of material relating to the figure of smith in Estonian folk song tradition is not large. According to Jüri Linnus (1965), there are about ten types of song where a smith is a character. The best known folk song type connected with smith is perhaps the balladic *Goldwife*. The song is about a smith who forges a new wife of gold (other metals or wood also occur in different variants) for himself but his creation is not alive, it is cold in bed. Finally the smith understands that a real woman has advantages over the golden one. The song, earlier regarded merely as a joke making fun of bachelors, is nowadays recognised as an interpretation of the myth of Pygmalion and Galatea. In 1920s-1930s this song was considered as a reflection of the old Viking times when smithcraft flourished (*Eesti rahvalaulud* 1926: XLI).

In other types of song about smith the attitude towards him is mainly negative: sometimes he is an unwanted suitor; other songs describe his job as not well-paid. The smith and his wife and children, if he is lucky enough to be married, are said to be always dirty. Sometimes people or young maidens whose coach has broken down or whose garments are torn ask for his help. Frequently a smith is blamed for his bad work. According to Linnus (1965), the smith is praised for his good work

only ten times in all folk songs. There are also some songs in which the smith is recommended to give up his job and become a farmer instead. An exceptional song type is the *Miraculous Smith* in which the smith is praising himself: he is thought to be a man from the manor, a judge or a secretary but he is a smith who can melt iron in his mouth, boil it on his tongue and crush it with his teeth (*Vana Kannel* V: No. 228). There is no special forging or any other "professional" blacksmith song recorded.

B. Folk narratives

The number of folk narratives about the blacksmith in the Estonian Folklore Archives is small. There are two types of folktales, *The Devil at Blacksmith's* (Aarne 1918: *Sagen* no. 33) and *Making of Iron* (AT 1163), where the blacksmith is more clever and successful than in songs. In the first tale, the blacksmith is shoeing the horse of a rich nobleman (the Devil), and notices all of a sudden that the horse has human feet. In another variant he recognises that the four horses of the Devil are his own friends who like to drink too much. This experience makes the smith do penance and he is saved. In the second tale, a foolish devil tells a clever blacksmith the secret of making iron (e.g. H II 22, 814 (2) < Saarde; E 18119/29 (2) < Võnnu¹). In one tale the blacksmith occurs as a ridiculous or miserable figure. In one tale it is explained why blacksmiths are destined to be unlucky: they made the chains or nails for Kalevipoeg (e.g. H I 7, 498 (89) < Helme), the Estonian national hero, or for Jesus Christ (H I 6, 628 (4) < Setu). Many stories tell about the blacksmith's bad work, and the punishment deserved therefor. For example, there is a story of an elephant whom he has cheated and who pours water on him from its trunk (H III 24, 198/90 (39) < Halliste). Jokes and black humour also belong to the narrative blacksmith tradition. So a blacksmith loses his sight by accident when he looks at a red-hot piece of iron very closely, or is lamed by dropping a piece of iron onto his feet.

Beside the more wide-spread blacksmith narratives there is also a varied material of local tradition, peculiar to a particular area. A local hero in south-eastern Estonia is a blacksmith called the Champion of Petseri (ERA II 296, 71 (12)), probably a historical person, who could

¹References to the manuscript collections of the Estonian Folklore Archives in Tartu.

hardly be known by Bornhöhe who was born in the northern part of the country.

C. Proverbs

Among more than 15 000 Estonian proverb types, there are only 20 that mention a smith or his work. In proverbs, the word *sepp* (smith) has a wider meaning: it mostly stands for a skilful master of any handicraft (cf. *kullassepp* 'goldsmith', *ratassepp* 'wheelwright', *rätsep* 'tailor'). The most wide-spread is the proverb *Igaüks on oma õnne sepp*, "Everyone is the architect (literally: smith) of his own fortune" (no. 14 657²) which has 188 records. The word 'smith' is used as a general synonym for a skilful master also in "How the smith, so the lock" (10 306) and "It is not always the coal that is guilty, sometimes it is the smith" (11 439). Sometimes the word 'smith' is also used in metaphors like "St. Barbara's Day is the smith of the Christmas' bread" (8985). The blacksmith-proverbs often use the smith or smithcraft for comparison, e.g. "Lice are worse than sparkles in a smithy" (8490), "The horse's teeth are worse than the blacksmith's tongs, said the wolf" (1631C) or "Nobody can get out of the smithy without a spot or out of the pub without a sin" (10 297). Some proverbs have got a pedagogical purpose, emphasising the importance of learning: "One cannot become a smith sitting on sofa" (10 598) or "Naturally a blacksmith's son makes better knives than a learned blacksmith" (11 421). There are three proverbs about daily life and work: "To the blacksmith's at dawn, to the miller's at cockcrow" (157), "One goes to the miller at cockcrow and to the blacksmith at dawn" (3 950), and "The sweetest discussions are held at the blacksmith's and miller's" (10 296). Making fun of the smith's life occurs for example in "The blacksmith's horse is without shoes, the blacksmith's wife without a knife" (10 311), and "The smith has neither a knife nor an axe" (10 304). A verse from a folk song is "Smutty is blacksmith's wife, sooty are the forger's children, the smith himself is dirty" (11 436). A forging smith is laughed at: "It's better to look at the eyes of a shitter than a smith" (10 574H). The only good side about a smith's work mentioned is that he can earn well: "The smith has a dirty job but white

²Numbered as in the academic publication of Estonian proverbs by Krikmann & Sarv 1980-85.

bread" (10 314). Other proverbs point out the instability of a smith's life, e.g. "Smith's tools are on a sledge" (10 312), i.e. he is always on the road and has not got a home of his own.³

In conclusion, Bornhöhe's smith has similarities with the image of the smith in Estonian folk tradition with regard to his failures and bad luck but not by his rebellious heroism. A similar character or model can also be looked for in literature.

Literature

Before *Villu's Fights* was published, there had been no popular figure in Estonian literature apart from the one in the story *The "Mill Ghosts" of Tammiste Village* (*Tammiste küla "vesketondid"*; 1868) by Lydia Koidula. The protagonist there is a young blacksmith, a first lover who is not a heroic character. He is attacked by scoundrel robbers and saved and healed by his beloved. The blacksmith and his rich parents offer the girl a profitable marriage. Except for the lost fight, there are no parallels between Villu and the smith created by Koidula.

Villu's origin can be found more obviously in the Estonian national epic *Kalevipoeg* (popular edition 1862) compiled by Fr. R. Kreutzwald where the sword of Kalevipoeg is made by the smith of Finland (Canto VI). As the Estonian visitor kills the son of the smith, the father puts curse on the sword and thus becomes the indirect cause of Kalevipoeg's death when the hero's legs are cut off by his own sword. Kreutzwald considered Estonians to be good working people, not warriors. This

³ The proverbs in Estonian: 14657: Igaüks on oma õnne sepp. 10306: Kuidas sepp nõnda lukk. 11439: Igakord pole süüd sõel, vahel ka sepal. 8985: Porbupäev on jõululeiva sepp. 8490: Peakirbud, need on hullemad kui sepipäev sädemed. 1631C: Hunt on ütelnud, et hobuse hammas on nii valus kui sepa tulised pihid. 10297: Tule sepapäevast ja veskikojast ilma märgita välja, tule kõrtsust ilma patuta. 10598: Ei saa sohva pääl sepäs opitus. 11421: Eks sündind sepapoeg ikke paremad pussi[d] tii kui õppind sepp. 157: Aoga sepile ja kikkaga veskile. 3950: Kiviline lätt kikka ajal, sepiline enne valget. 10296: Sepapajas ja veskikojas ajatakse kõige magusamad jutud. 10311: Sepa hobo rauata, sepa naene noata. 10304: Ega sepal väist ega kirvest pole. 11436: Süsine on sepa naine, tahmased taguja lapsed, sepp see ise ilma musta. 10574H: Parem sittuja silmi vaadata kui sepa silmi. 10314: Sepäl om must tüü, aga valge leib. 10312: Sepa riistad on ree pääl.



Estonian national hero Kalevipoeg by K. Raud. Traditionally the hero is depicted without a sword.

explains why the mighty sword was bought in another country, in this case in Finland. The Finnish mythical cosmic smith Ilmarinen was one of the leading characters in the epic *Kalevala* which was world-famous already when Kreutzwald only started to compile his epic. Kalevipoeg was not a blacksmith and did not take part in the forging of the sword like for example Sigurd in the *Saga of Volsunga* in Scandinavian tradition. Anyway to some extent due to his fate but first of all due to his deheroisation, the figure of Kalevipoeg is close to the smith of Bornhöhe. In the epic, Kalevipoeg gains victory over the main negative character, *Vanapagan* ("Old Heathen"), and enchains him for eternity (C. XVIII). After his death Kalevipoeg is sent to be the warder of *Vanapagan* at the Hell's Gate (C. XX). The epic did not become popular among the people until about ten years after its publication. The epic was re-edited twice in the 1870s, the school years of young Bornhöhe. Hence it is likely that the popular motifs of the working non-romantic hero and his enchained enemy could be used later on by Bornhöhe in his writings. Still the real prototype of Bornhöhe's hero cannot be found in the 19th century Estonian literature.

The German smith and Scandinavian saga of Volund

In the 19th century all educated Estonians were bilingual as the secondary schools worked in German and Russian only. Naturally enough, German literature was widely taught and read at the time. After the publication of *The Avenger* Bornhöhe's critics blamed him for his bad Estonian which was said to be full of Germanisms. Indeed, by that time the writer claimed that he had read through all major works of German and world literature: "I read all books of the world literature available in German libraries, no 'genius' is unknown by me" (Bornhöhe 1912: 2). Smithery and smithcraft was a popular topic in German classical poetry, e.g. Friedrich Schiller's *Der Gang nach der Eisenhammer* and Ludwig Uhland's *Siegfrieds Schwert*. Earlier still in literary history, one finds an interesting character in the Scandinavian epic tradition – Volund or Wieland, a blacksmith of the kin of light elves. The story was popular in the early Middle Ages (Hauck 1977). A poetic interpretation of the saga of Volund was included in the collection of the mythical songs of the *Elder Edda*. *Edda* was translated into German by Karl Simrock and first published in 1851. The book of Eddic poetry grew extremely popular and reached its tenth edition in 1896. The Scandinavian material was easily adapted within the cultural history of the German-speaking countries and it was regarded as an important part of the national identity. A comparison of the Song of Volund (*Völundarkvidha*) and *Villu's Fights* with regard to the setting, characters and action reveals a surprisingly large number of similarities (see table on the next page).

The examples prove that there is a connection between Bornhöhe's novel and the song of Volund. The differences mainly concern with the temporal sequence of the events. Villu's character is split into two men: the positive Villu and the negative nobleman. The two corresponding ladies in *Völundarkvidha* are merged into one.

The critics have noted possible foreign influences in Bornhöhe's works. Herbert Salu has analysed the similarities between *The Avenger* and *Wilhelm Tell* by Alexandre Dumas père (Salu 1955: 137-138). August Koemets referred to some parallels between *Villu's Fights* and *The Bride of Lammermoor* by Sir Walter Scott (Koemets 1935: 16; 19). In my opinion, there are by far more similarities between the saga and the song of Volund and *Villu's Fights* than between the latter and Scott's novel.

	<i>Villu's Fights</i>	<i>Völundarkvidha</i>
SETTING	The thick forest between Villu's and Maie's houses	Myrkvidr
	The Commander's castle in Viljandi	Niarenland
	The prison cellar	Sävarstödr
CHARACTERS	Villu [in freedom]	Volund in Ulfsiar
	The Commander	Nidud
	Krööt	Nidud's wife
	Maie	Hervör Alvit
	Priidu	Nidud's sons
	The Commander's nephew	Volund in Sävarstöð
	Adelheid	Bödvild
ACTION	The Avenger	No analogue; Odin of Fate
	The secret intercourse between the Commander and Krööt	The marriage of Nidud and his wife
	Villu's particular status as a half serf and half-friend of the Commander	Volund's position as a successor of earthly men and the light elves
	Villu's activities at the time of the uprising	Volund as the owner of Nidud's gold
	Villu's special services to the Commander	Volund as a skilful smith
	Villu's love to Maie	Volund's marriage with Hervör Alvit
	Maie's abduction by the Commander's nephew	Bödvild's seduction by Volund
	Adelheid's broken pearl collar	Bödvild's broken ring
	Krööt's betrayal of the rebels' plan to enter the castle in rye sacks	The proposal made by Nidud's wife to cut Volund's tendons
	Villu's capture and enchaining by the Commander	Volund's capture and mutilation by Nidud
	The murder of Priidu on St. Thomas' Day	The murder of Nidud's sons by Volund
	Villu's madness and death after the long imprisonment	Volund's flight after cruel revenge

How could Bornhöhe know the story of Volund? There is more than one explanation. The German-speaking environment and the visits to Germany could introduce him to Simrock's translation. Before writing *Villu's Fights* Bornhöhe also spent one term (autumn 1889) at the University of Tartu, where he studied classical philology. He attended courses in Germanic mythology and medieval literature. It is interesting that before the Estonian novel, the saga of Volund was set to drama sketch *Wieland der Schmied* (1848) by the German composer Richard Wagner. That unfinished outline became later on the first version of *Das Ring des Nibelungen* which was regarded as elite art whose background was frequently analysed both in popular and scholarly publications which Bornhöhe could have read.

An interesting question is the original of the name of the main character. The similar sound of the names Villu and Völund seems to be an obvious indicator of the connections. In Estonia Villu (< Germ. Wilhelm) is a well-known first name but it has not been very popular. In the review of *Villu's Fights* Eduard Vilde has pointed out that the names in Bornhöhe's novel seem strange and unsuitable for them (Vilde 1890). In the letter to Mihkel Kampmaa Bornhöhe said that the names were chosen just at random by inspiration (1912). Wilhelm can be related to Wilhelm Tell, as noted above.

Further fate of the novel

The figure of a rebel smith was not used by the 20th century writers who wrote about the uprising of St. Thomas' Day. The plays *St. St. Thomas' Day* (*Toomapäev*; 1928) by Artur Adson and *Mare and her Son* (*Mare ja ta poeg*; 1935) by Aino Kallas do not feature any smiths. The reason is given by Koemets (1935: 34) who recognised that there is no dramatic culmination in *Villu's Fights*. In 1929, Richard Kullerkupp published the drama *St. Thomas' Day or Villu's Fights* (*Toomapäev ehk Villu võitlused*) in four acts after the novel. To expose the end more dramatically, Kullerkupp makes Villu sink down to the prison cellar in the last scene. While sinking, the smith makes a speech about the Estonians' thirst for liberty which cannot be suppressed by the conquerors. The story gains in power and ends dramatically. Villu turns into a real hero in the best sense of the word.

The latest attempt to screen the episode of the novel was made by Grigorij Kromanov in 1969. He made a film after another historical novel by Bornhöhe, *Prince Gabriel*, and included the scene of the secret meeting of the rebels, adapted from *Villu's Fights*. In the Soviet times this scene was significant. The description of the uprising against the violent state order may have been the reason why *Villu's Fights* and *The Avenger*, too, were not performed on stage or filmed at that time.



Conclusion

Villu forging a sword. Illustration by E. Okas (1953).

The possible mythic origin of Villu's story need not be necessarily connected with Scandinavia. The story of Volund is an adaptation of the myth of Daidalos and Ikaros. As the motif of revenge is missing in *Villu's Fights*, his fate is even more similar to that of Prometheus, the eternal cultural hero. In any case the writer has unconsciously recognised one of the most important facts in the history of Estonian smithwork. According to Kaupo Deemant, smithwork was forbidden for Estonians after the uprisings of 1343-1345 as the conquerors were afraid of new armoured outbursts. All blacksmiths had to be Germans and members of the German guilds (Deemant 1995). Gradually the image of smith degenerated as illustrated by the later folk tradition. It is not surprising that the meaning of the word *ilmasepp* ('cosmic smith', as Ilmarinen in the epic of *Kalevala*) meant in the 19th century a smith living on air, i.e. homeless (ERA II 58, 100 (22c)). In Villu Bornhöhe created a figure who relates Estonian history, folk tradition and literature to the European romantic fiction, possibly drawing on a different image of blacksmith, that of the old Scandinavian folk poetry.

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On Which Side of the Frontier Are Trespassers?

About the Identity of Ethnic Groups in Kohtla-Järve¹

Tiiu Jaago (Tartu)

June 1991. The folklore expedition of Tartu University students to the North-eastern Estonian town Kohtla-Järve comes as a surprise to the senior colleagues: it is a town where only immigrants from other parts of the Soviet Union live, surely there can't be any folklore?! Indeed, in the streets all you can find is the Russian language and expressions of strange mentality: pointless pushing, smashed phone booths, noise, red-painted granite blocks, poplars, trampled lawn, distinct untidiness. But we are not interested in the unfamiliar that strikes our eye wherever we look and that tends to be designated with the word "Russian" (*vene*) in colloquial Estonian. (The word "Russian" signifies an immigrant non-Estonian rather than one's actual nationality.) What we want is to meet representatives of ethnic minorities: Byelorussians, Ingrians, and indeed, local Estonians too – native inhabitants of Viru district, who by now are a minority in the region.

The antagonism between *ours* and *theirs* that clearly reflected in the city streets was quite what the students from Tartu had expected. The inhabitant of Kohtla-Järve is no more anguished by such manifestation of the *strange*. I dare not say that they just overlook it, but they have got used to it. For example, for us to walk across the lawn was much more an embarrassment than for the local Estonians. "I was taught in the army that the straightest way is the shortest way," an old man says grinning at

¹The essay is based on the fieldwork materials of Virumaa 1991; materials of the collection of family tradition 1979-1995 (the manuscripts are in the author's keeping; see also Jaago & Jaago 1996: 136-144).

our surprised looks, as we see him walk right across the lawn while we are trying to find a footpath. On the other hand, locals were annoyed by things that we just neglected out of ignorance. For example, in 1991 the town of Kohtla-Järve celebrated its 45th anniversary. At the beginning of June the whole town was hung with placards saying, "Kohtla-Järve 45 - Jõhvi 750".² Non-native population, with indignation, demanded an explanation from the municipality: how can part of the town that was founded by us only 45 years ago have its 750th anniversary? Next morning the undue appendage "Jõhvi 750" had disappeared from the decorations. The story was told in every Estonian family with a touch of sarcasm, until we understood that it was a sore spot. Local Soviet immigrants do not believe or know that there was anything here before them. The statement "I have lived here long" means years for them, but generations for an Estonian.

The early 1990s were characterised by lively activities of cultural societies that had emerged during the singing revolution; among other things, they propagated folklore. Again we could experience that folklore and folklorism were two different things. For example, *Kirde killad*, an officially organised Estonian folklore event was regarded by the performers as one of the many noisy failures. At the same time Byelorussians complained that they had never been informed that such a party would take place. In conversations the whole significance of popular tradition (and not of its official forms) came out. We questioned people coming from different cultural and geographic regions whom World War II had brought together on this narrow strap of land.

Byelorussians came to Eastern Viru seeking odd jobs. Byelorussia was devastated after the war, people were not able to find jobs, their health was decrepit, they even had no food. The jobs in the mines of

²At that time Jõhvi was a suburb of Kohtla-Järve. Historically Jõhvi is the parish centre. The first known mention of the settlement was in *Liber Census Daniae* in 1241 as Gevi. The city of Kohtla-Järve was established after World War II in the place of blooming villages. The reason was oil-shale mining. Local inhabitants were either deported or settled elsewhere, some of them adjusted to the new circumstances. (Most of the deported returned to their homes in the 1950s, as in Estonia in general.) The foundation of the town and mines, as well as local population decrease, enabled the Soviet authorities to repopulate the region with immigrants from other parts of the Soviet Union.

Kohtla-Järve were advertised on posters. An informant's father had been in hospital with a fracture of the leg. He could not move, but there was one of those posters hanging on the wall above him. It stood before his eyes for weeks running, and so he made up his mind to move to Kohtla-Järve. People came as if it was their home (after all, they were invited!), overlooking the fact that they came to a foreign land and that there had been deportations to make room for them. They had their jobs and earned their living, but quite unexpected for them was their spiritual and cultural isolation. Many Russians despised them. The Byelorussian language was said to be nothing but *испорченный русский язык* ('corrupt Russian'). Estonians made no sense at all for them: "odd people, running around with their fir-trees a week before New Year."³ They managed in their everyday life, however. Of course, children asked questions: for example, why do grandmothers paint eggs in early spring, and why do they then ask children to give them secretly to their neighbours? But then, why not? Real mess, however, began at cemeteries. Nobody knew how the dead must be buried. Decisions had to be made by the grave: whether it should be dug from north to south or from east to west? After one of these alternatives has been chosen, in which direction should they place the head of the corpse? When the coffin is in the grave, should they put flowers in it, or on the mound over the grave? Should the tombstone be at the head or at the foot of the grave? And so on, and so forth. People argued right beside the grave, and nobody knew which was actually the right way to do it.⁴ But when visiting their relatives in Byelorussia, children were surprised to see the clarity and harmony: everybody knew how things should be, everything was so logical.

³Formally, of course, it was the New Year celebration, but Estonians used to bring a Christmas-tree home without mentioning Christmas. The Orthodox Byelorussians celebrate Christmas some weeks later than the Lutheran Estonians. Different time of "walking around with fir-trees" of Estonians and non-Estonians can be noted anywhere.

⁴The cemetery at Jõhvi is "motley" indeed. It is one of the visible signs of contrasting what is *ours* and what is not. For an Estonian cemetery is sacred ground, the graves are arranged in regular rows and nicely cleaned. Between non-Estonian graves there is no path, and their gravestones look strange for an Estonian: for example, a column topped with a five-pointed star. Gravestones are made of substances that Estonians would not use: sheet metal, plywood; Estonians typically use stone, iron, hedges. A common sign that we cannot say Estonians would never use is a photo of the late relative on the tombstone. An Estonian condemns neglect of the graves of one's relatives, let alone devastation of the cemetery, while it is no problem for many Soviet immigrants.

Byelorussians adapted to life in Estonia. They were compelled to embrace the Russian culture (schools with Russian as the teaching language levelled the differences between immigrants). But they were cut off from their Byelorussian culture, because it was mainly representatives of one generation who came – those who were young and capable of work. The older generation stayed behind, those who bear the “crystallised intelligence” – the cultural heritage of the people (Elwert 1994: 158).

The Byelorussian cultural society sees its objective in soothing the bruised self-esteem of the Byelorussians, negotiating Byelorussian culture to those who live here, so that they would treasure their Byelorussian descent. They do not want to return to Byelorussia, because they have “lived here too long”.

The Ingrians remember the war (figuratively) as fire in their house or as escape by sea. Indeed, for them it was the reality. Ingrian households were practically destroyed in the Leningrad province (*oblast*), so people were forced to leave. German-Finnish pacts drove them to Finland, Soviet-Finnish pacts from Finland to this side of the frontier. Ingrian communities developed; one of their destinations was Virumaa. Unlucky for them that in Kohtla-Järve they mixed equally with both dominant but contrasting nationalities. For them, both Estonian and Russian language and culture were historically equally open, as they had always lived at the frontier between Estonia and Russia. Their national culture assimilated, depending on which family they married into.

What was the main occupation of their cultural society in 1991? To help people in the official business and documents to certify their Ingrian descent and get a working permit in Finland.

Local Estonians are annoyed by the feelings of superiority shown by “Russians” (non-Estonians), which reflects the role of helpers and bringers of civilisation that they have assumed, and which follows their attitude: before us there was nothing here. Such ideology was conceived by high Soviet officials to compensate the feeling of rootlessness and the ensuing vulnerability of the immigrants. Moreover, it was meant to justify the immigration policies of that time. The words “bringer of

civilisation" and "Russian" are sometimes used as derogatory synonyms for Russian-speaking immigrants.

People in Kohtla-Järve remembered their fear of the coming of Russians. They were not wanted in the families. Today the fear is gone. There are many mixed marriages. People socialise with an individual human being rather than with a nation. They are reluctant to characterise the nationalities even if asked to do so. However, at Lügänuše some twenty or thirty kilometres away, the boundary lines between groups are not yet blurred and people are apprehensive of the invasion of "Russians" (here I am avoiding the conception of "Russian culture", because in this context for native people it bears the connotation of 'being uncultured'). At Lügänuše the coming of the "Russians" arouses uneasiness, people are alarmed at the threat of destruction of what they feel is theirs – a fear that is not utterly groundless.⁵

The immigration policy approved by Soviet Estonian politicians created the conflict between those who were here before and those who came here. Life and human kindness have redressed the conflicts, but the feelings of remorse for the destruction of the traditional cannot be unmade. The native inhabitants of Virumaa district are not distinguished by fear, self-pity, sentimentality or other bitter emotions. Nor by a sense of superiority. Their anguish is concealed. All we can perceive is their composed self-esteem, their awareness of their past, and their sense of humour. That makes them apparently heedless of their surroundings (untidiness, the Russian language, pushing crowds – all that so clearly irritated us), for this is only a short moment. Their memory tells them: it was not like that before, and it will not remain like that forever.

The conflict between the self-awareness of the groups originated when the existing distribution of roles and self-identification changed under new circumstances. Who had been a farmer was now a "bandit", ordinary citizens became outcasts; the past was erased as if it were a blank sheet.

⁵Unlike the cemetery of Jõhvi, that of Lügänuše is of pure Estonian style. I mentioned it to my guide at Lügänuše. With a worried look, he points at the plot that we had thought was a garbage heap and says, "Yes, it is now, but there it is (the "Russian" cemetery), and in a month or two we'll come together."

The expectations of the groups on the one hand, based on their ideas about who they are, and the reality on the other, i.e. who they are thought to be, do not coincide. The culture of the immigrants has been cut off from its roots. Therefore they feel insecure. However, they have been supported by the ideology which maintains that they have brought civilisation and aid and support. But the Estonians refuse to accept the supporting ideology of the newcomers.

Estonians regard themselves as the only masters of their land. This point of view is not accepted by immigrant groups.

Russians and representatives of other nations that settled here immediately after World War II do not recognise later immigrants from the east. Estonians speak ironically about their reasoning: "We are here already, who needs you?" Conflicts are not so sharp between individuals, if the newcomer admits that he is the immigrant and the Estonian is at home here. Such understanding breeds good relations between them.

Conflicts in the transition into the new situation after World War II created groups of fairly rigid bounds. The external marker of the bounds was nationality. The changes were not accompanied by any chance of reconciliation, which again caused permanent antagonism between the groups. But the sharper the conflict between the groups, the deeper was the identity crisis within one group. This, in its turn necessitated more clear-cut self-determination.

Identity arises from two aspects: who one thinks one is, and who they are thought to be by others (group identity from inside and from outside). The myth, created for the immigrants for the cause of national policy, was not adopted. Groups developed their own attitudes and myths about themselves and others (Soikkeli 1995; Suurvee 1991).⁶ The result was more complicated than expected. The interior and exterior identity of different groups in Kohtla-Järve do not coincide. Estonians contrasted themselves to the immigrants. The whole body of immigrants comprised smaller

⁶"In the conventional usage a myth is a concept or statement about which people agree (or believe that they agree), although it is a euphemism for a falsehood rather than truth," writes Markku Soikkeli (1995: 137). In principle, the labels "Russian" and "Estonian" are also myths, since they are symbols about which the Russian and Estonian interpretations are widely divergent (Suurvee 1991: 2485).

groups. Estonians thought that the territory where they now were living together was theirs. Strangers that had come here were unwelcome. But immigrants view their coming as aid rather than subjugation.

The boundary line between groups depended on one's standpoint (myth) being by no means absolute: who was a Russian for an Estonian was not necessarily a Russian for a Russian. At the same time, natives were contrasted to immigrants, but only to those immigrants who spoke another language, and not to an Estonian who came from abroad and settled here. The chief exterior marker of identity of the period was language. The groups were not open to each other.

In a conflict situation one can choose whether to close the bounds of the groups or, on the contrary, to have open communication. In either case the results are different. We mentioned already that the Byelorussians took the course towards becoming Russianised. However, it was not exactly voluntary, which brought about a reassessment of their self-identity in the 1990s. Ingrians divided their uniqueness between two cultures that they knew: Estonian and Russian. For local Estonians one of the alternatives was to accept the new role that was imposed on them by others. The other was to be more clearly conscious of one's former identity than ever before.

Contrasting oneself to the neighbouring Russian people is very much alive in the heritage of the Viru district: from legends of Tsar Peter I crossing the Narva River in a peasant's dung-cart (what kind of a monarch is that!), to the assertion that the fields of Russians are inferior, compared to the Estonians' prolific land. In general, Estonians believe that they are more hard-working than Russians. Being ever on the lookout for self-identification is inbred in the native inhabitants of Virumaa, a border district. In open communication it broadens your view, but in danger it makes you withdraw (as in the described period).

It is very typical for Estonians to distinguish themselves outwardly (one must not wear clothes that are characteristic of Russians: in the past, a shirt worn over trousers for men; today a woollen shawl with flower pattern against black background for women). There are conspicuous differences in their household. Among the older generation of Estonians of Kohtla-Järve, there is discernible influence of the Toila-Oru school of domestic economy (functioned before World War II) in cookery and gardening.

Contemporary narratives reflect their sensitivity to language. As a rule, immigrants never learned to speak Estonian, while Estonians have a fluent command of Russian. Russians are mocked for their poor command of languages. For example: In the Püssi mill a native of Virumaa talks with a Finn, each using his native language. A Russian standing nearby asks: "What language are you speaking?" "Norwegian," they answer. The Russian is amazed: "Wow! What a learning!"

Besides humorous expressions of one's sense of superiority, one may also come across mean ways of "laying down the limits". For example, a Ukrainian woman wanted to greet her neighbour in Estonian – such was her idea of politeness. At the same time, she complained about Estonian words being very long (she could not distinguish individual words within a phrase). And when she went to ask the Estonian word for hello, she never knew to doubt in what she was taught to say – a sentence translating as "Shit quick! The bear is coming" – until she saw her neighbour's reaction at such a greeting. However, such attitude – laughing at others for their accent – was reproached already in the 1950s. In the 1990s such incidents were remembered with disparagement.

One of the predominant props of the Estonians' self-identification is research of the history of one's native place, including one's family history – another mark of introverted, rather than aggressive feeling of superiority. (One's knowledge of the past is not obtruded upon others. The knowledge and study are meant purely for oneself, and it gives a touch of self-assurance to one's presence.) While Soviet immigrants maintain that there was nothing here before they came, Estonians know their ancestral homes since the times after the Great Northern War; there are even families whose ancestors have lived here through the war (1700-1721). The knowledge of the family history, but also of the local history is again based on earlier tradition.

For instance, one of the suburbs of Kohtla-Järve is situated at the location of the former village Käva; today there is a deserted storehouse. The store is surrounded with a high wire fence, and only a few years ago entrance was denied to ordinary people. In the enclosure there is an oak that was planted in 1926. At that time there was a farmstead on this very spot, where a family had lived since before the Northern War. In 1926 relatives gathered to celebrate the bicentenary of the

first written record⁷ of the family; on that occasion they also planted the oaks. During the 1995 collection of family tradition we were deeply impressed by an old man who climbing over the fence and wading through weeds that came up to our necks took us to the storehouse yard, to the oak-tree that had remained of the courtyard of his former ancestral home. Through three centuries the home yard has been important for the family.

There are other analogous "signs" from the past: trees, stones that have been taken from former cattle-sheds and that now have been used in building new houses, yearly Midsummer Fires in the fields of one's ancestral farm, etc., are known, and memories of them are cherished. These are the visible landmarks of the past. The heritage is within the active memory.

After World War II research into genealogy or local history has been one of the most significant formers of identity. Heritage memory has another function too besides being a compensation for the subjugation by immigrants. Heritage also filled the gaps that were not recognised by the official culture (rural life before World War II, deportations of 1941 and 1949, German occupation). The described conflict situation between ethnic groups actualised different forms of study of the past among natives.⁸ However, the tradition is connected primarily with the older generation.

The basis for identification of the ingroup is not necessarily confined to one's nationality (Elwert 1991; Gerndt 1992: 36). The migration policy in Kohtla-Järve after World War II produced ethnic groups. But half a century has passed since then. The Byelorussians who were born in Kohtla-Järve do not want to return to Byelorussia. They have developed a basis for their self-identification, which essentially incorporates their acceptance of the geographic area. Ingrians do not even have a place to return to.

⁷Eestimaa 1725.-26.a. adramaarevisjon. Virumaa. Allikapublikatsioon, Tallinn 1988, 183.

⁸The significance of knowing (and not necessarily studying) one's family history in the self-identification of the Soviet period is shown by the results of a sociological inquiry, see Rakfeldt-Leetmaa & Rakfeldt 1996.

In the 1970s and 1980s the native and non-native population associated with each other actively, and not always with contempt. Estonians admired and praised the knack of Russians for coining political anecdotes. These spread through mediators all over Estonia, but elsewhere their Russian origin was not emphasised. The attitude towards politics was basically the same: the Estonian narrative tradition took over the Russian repertoire, but the narrators never identified themselves with Russians – it was always *their* politics, *their* anecdotes. This is typical of the middle-aged generation. They work together, live as neighbours, mixed marriages are not infrequent.

How does the third generation identify itself – the generation of the children born from mixed marriages? They cannot belong to any ethnic group, because they associate with their relatives of both nationalities. At the same time, one can feel some mental attitudes among them that are characteristic of different nationality groups. For example, a young man whose father is Estonian (a strong family tradition, their family memory reaches back to the mid-18th century; they know the place where the fields of their forefathers' farm used to be between what are now large buildings in the city, the young man bears the name of his grandfather, and the burial plot of their ancestors at the Jõhvi cemetery holds his ancestors from times immemorial) and mother Ukrainian (who learned the Estonian language, treats Estonians with respect, just as she treats her own relatives). The young man associates with the kin of both of his parents and speaks fluently both Estonian and Russian (but not Ukrainian!). Being a violinist in an orchestra, he belongs to a culturally Estonian-oriented group; he says that mixed marriages were their sore spot and that they used to play only Estonian tunes at wedding parties, which were not suited for Russian dances. At the same time, his wife is Russian. Or, for example, if grandparents and husband do not allow a Russian mother speak to her child in Russian, she tries to speak Estonian. And yet, this is quite impossible, since the language that is used when speaking to a child is not taught at any courses or schools. The child will be bilingual ("*Näe, kaks babuškät!*" – the phrase cannot be rendered literally: an Estonian never says 'grandmother' for an unfamiliar elderly woman, but uses the Estonian word for 'aunt' instead). A separate group is formed by Estonianised non-Estonians (i.e. neither of whose parents were Estonian). Among them we can notice some hesitancy in usage of language. In most cases,

the first language of their childhood, an evidently their school language, has been Russian. And although they can speak Estonian fluently, so that their foreign descent is not recognised, they are hard put when trying to find figurative or metaphoric expressions. In those cases they often complain about the Estonian language being poor, or having no such expression. "Russian is a rich language," they add. The real problem here is not the richness of the language, but ignorance of the phraseology. Besides, there has been no need for the Estonians to express some essentially Russian realities.

Still, language is a sensitive indicator of groups. But then, so are one's appearance, name, domestic habits, choice of school. This is the domain of cultural rather than national identity. Let us now take a closer look on the name-identity. A name can reflect one's descent, home, nationality, age, social position, belonging to a certain historical epoch (Bausinger 1988). In the present context we are primarily interested in the preferences of name: whether mixed families choose neutral international names, or find something befitting from the local tradition, or remember/emphasise their ethnic or geographic origin. The general tendency with children of mixed marriages is to find a name that is familiar in both languages (*Paul - Pavel, Jüri - Yuri; Liisa, Anna*) or a neutral ethnic name (*Ingrian Maarit*).

Let us now examine the names of those Estonian schoolchildren whose parents are of different nationalities.⁹ When their parents' names are Russian but they are of Estonian descent, one of the explanations may be their adherence to the Russian Orthodox Church,¹⁰ or else their ancestors have emigrated to Russia at the beginning of the century, and the children who were born there and had Russian names have returned to Estonia. In these two circumstances the name reflects their religion or relationship to the place that was their home at that moment (a Russian name in Russia).

⁹These are 124 responses to a questionnaire from one rural school and two town schools, one of them in Tartu and the other in Kohtla-Järve. 5th-form pupils were questioned. The aim was to find out how much they knew about their ancestry. See Jaago & Jaago 1996: 118-125.

¹⁰Conversion to Orthodoxy that began in Estonia in the mid-19th century invigorated in some regions at the end of the previous century at the period of Russification. Its objective was the hope to get land together with the new religion (it was, after all, the religion of the Tsar).

Religion (if there is any) is not so obvious in a modern child's name, but there is another quite apparent tendency to choose the child's name from the local tradition. This has brought forth irregular name pairs, such as Triin Guljavin, Taivo Tihhonov. Typically, a woman's Russian surname drops its characteristic feminine ending: Ene Petrov (pro: Petrova).

Different nationalities are reflected in the family names of Kohtla-Järve more than anywhere else. Such surnames as Kovlak, Rudka, Varkki, Burda, Topchi cannot be associated with typical Russian ones. Even if the people know from their name or from personal contacts where they come from (Byelorussia, Ukraine), they still bring them all under the general term "Russian". In the rural school of Läänemaa there are few non-Estonians, and a Russian stands out from others as much as any other foreigner. Quite unusual is the case of a Russian-speaking man of obscure nationality who is called Chukchi (this is a nickname!).¹¹

Kristiina seems to be the preferred neutral girl's name, which is ethnically unmarked.

The preferred names are those from the local tradition. In Kohtla-Järve with its Babel of nations, all foreign is brought under the general term "Russian" by the local Estonians. In the district of Läänemaa, where Russians are as rare as Volgaic Germans or Latvians or any other nationality, such generalisation never applies to those who live there.



With generations, the bounds of the ingroup in Kohtla-Järve have changed among the Estonians (from the 1950s to present):

1. native inhabitants of Virumaa, born at the beginning of the century: by the time of revolutionary changes they were already mature individuals with their own life experience, who were now facing a new situation. They formed a rather closed group, and the main external marker of the group was nationality and language;

2. their children, who were schoolchildren at the revolutionary period, were prone to accept new ideas. They formed a fairly open group

¹¹The Chukchi were one of the small peoples of the Soviet Union; they often feature in anecdotes.

who associated with immigrant non-Estonians, but did not belong to the same group with them; the principal external marker of their group was, besides nationality, knowledge of one's ancestry (they often used Russian for communication, and were not reluctant to do so; mixed families developed, to the disapproval of the older generation, at least in the beginning);

3. their children, who have been brought up in contrast to the groups of Russians (there are Estonian schools and Russian schools, which do not want to act together; their main controversies arise from the different temperament of the pupils, which is not a theoretical problem, but a purely practical one); among the children there are those who were born from mixed marriages: which group do they belong to?

Groups of open communication emerged in due time, where the prevalent external marker was appearance, behaviour, temperament, instead of nationality. A person is classified depending on which group pattern (so-called "Estonians" or so-called "Russians") his/her behaviour matches (the name is insignificant: a person who has an Estonian name, but speaks Russian and has a Russian temperament does not belong to the group of Estonians).

Byelorussians have also gone through changes from generation to generation:

1. cut off from their culture, they do not place their nationality in the forefront (under the circumstances, and with no need to do so); the external marker of the group is *испорченный русский язык* ('corrupt Russian');

2. their children who are interested in their Byelorussian descent and Byelorussian culture; but their self-identification is dominated by their relationship with their place of living, which is Kohtla-Järve;

3. their children, who have become Russianised, learn the Byelorussian language at voluntary Sunday schools; this group has no distinct markers.

In the 1950s the two predominant and mutually dependent characteristics determining the external boundary markers between groups were: nationality and being local vs. immigrant. Since then, the group identity of non-Estonians has been more and more dominated by place identity. (Being Byelorussian, they are still connected with their home

in Estonia.) Place identity is beginning to influence the choice of names and to dominate over one's nationality.

Children of mixed families, who conforming with the local tradition know the lineage history of their Estonian ancestors, have on the analogy memorised the lineage of their non-Estonian parents. But even here place identity is predominant, because this induces closer ties with one's local ancestors than those with the remote home of other ancestors where they have paid but brief visits.

The national identity of people living on the boundary between nations weakens from generation to generation, shifting towards the nation on whose territory they live. At the same time, the national issue is a sore spot in the whole Estonia today, and so much more in Kohtla-Järve. When and why did nationality begin to dominate among the attributes of self-identity? There are many accounts of foreign descent in the Estonian family tradition that are often untrue (Jaago & Jaago 1996: 50-66). In the Estonian peasant identity foreign descent is not significant, while before the 19th century coming from another part of Estonia may have proved pivotal in their self-identity.¹² Ever since the 13th century towns have been associated with the *foreign*, meaning primarily the Germans, but in the district of Viru also Swedes and Russians. In the identity of town residents at the beginning of the century foreign descent might have been even preferred to Estonian because of class distinctions in the past (Estonians were, after all, uncouth slaves).¹³

National identity could have been pivotal in the identity issues in the 1950s when the described conflicts began and the boundaries between nations were clear. Within three generations it is the geographic category of identity – home – that has been substituted for it. But still the conflict continues. And here the central issue is cultural space: which cultural tradition will prevail in that geographically small area.

¹²I.e. in the cases when the family was exchanged for hunting dogs. This is a very humiliating chapter in the history of Estonians, and through tradition the emotion has gone through several stages (e.g. the surnames given to them in the 1830s are connected with their previous homes) and carried until this day. See Jaago & Jaago 1996: 29; 60-61; 83.

¹³This was the conclusion reached by Martin Lipp, the initiator of the Estonian family lineage study. See Lipp 1909: 5.

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The Mythological Story of Gayāsura and the Performance of *śrāddha-yajña* in Gayā:

Beliefs and Behaviour Patterns of Hindus

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1. Introduction

Despite fast developments in science and technology making inroads into the day to day lives of people, the overall pattern of life all over the world remains largely rooted in the traditions and the associated beliefs. Events which belong to the realm of inexplicable, unpredictable and therefore mysterious influence significantly certain patterns of human behaviour which have evolved as a response to them. These patterns of behaviour directed towards the unknown and unpredictable world give rise to certain beliefs and practices which constitute the core of religious activities. Those beliefs and traditions vary from culture to culture and from time to time and could be defined as any set of attitudes, beliefs and practices pertaining to supernatural power, be it forces, gods, spirits, ghosts or demons.

There seems to be no general agreement as to why people need religion, or how spirits, gods and other supernatural beings and forces come into existence. Societies differ in the kinds of supernatural beings or forces they believe in. There is also variation in the ways in which the supernatural power and human beings are believed to interact. The religions also differ in terms of the belief in what happens to people after death. For example, according to Middleton (1971), Lugbara of

northern Uganda "see the dead joining the ancestors of the living and staying near the family homesite. They retain an interest in the behaviour of the living, both rewarding and punishing them." Bunzel (1971) studied the Zuni of the American South-west who think that "the dead join the past dead, known as the *kacians* at a *kacina* village at the bottom of a nearby lake. There they lead a life of singing and dancing and bring rain to the living Zuni. They are also swift to punish the priest who fails in his duty or the people who impersonate them in masks during dance ceremonies" (Ember & Ember 1990: 287).

The Hindus believe that the dead are divided into two groups: the *pāpīns* (sinners) are sent to the *naraka* (hell) - a realm of darkness often associated with torture with fire, and the *puṇyātmanas* (noble souls) are sent to *svarga* (heaven) - a realm of light where life knows no sorrows and the nature is sweet. They also believe in the dead returning to earth to be reborn and the eventual release from the pain of life through the attainment of *nirvāṇa* (salvation).

It is evident from the hymns of Rigveda that at first there was no concept of *naraka* (punishment) or *svarga* (reward) and all the dead were supposed to live happily in *yama-loka* (region of Yama). According to the Vedic tale Yama and his twin sister Yamī were the first man and woman. They were the children of Vivasvat, the rising sun, and Saranyū, a daughter of Tvaṣṭī. Yama discovered the route which led the dead to heaven. Thus he became the first man to die and also established himself as the king of the dead. Yama became the path-finder to other human beings. People started offering to him and to their ancestors *soma* (an intoxicating liquor) and *piṇḍas* (balls of rice) in the performance of the last rituals. Prayers were made requesting him to take the dead to *yama-loka* (Rigveda 10.14; 10.15; 10.17).

In Atharvaveda we find a description of heaven and hell (Vidyarthi 1971: 113). Later on the notions of heaven and hell developed into a complex belief system. Yama's role changed as the idea that heaven was the reward for virtue rather than a place where all the dead were received gained prevalence. Yama himself became a figure of terror for cruel people. Cruel men were boiled in oil or thrown into a river full of the most horrible impurities where they were boiled. Gradually many beliefs related to death and the last ritual, *antyeṣṭi*, developed. The dead roam around as spirits or ghosts until the *śrāddha* rituals are

performed. People who die unnatural death in an accident, by suicide or murder, for example, are believed to become *pretas* (ghosts). The souls of these persons move about here and there. These deaths are viewed as contaminated and looked at with fear and awe, and therefore lengthy purification rites are prescribed in the case of such unnatural deaths. Thus the concept of *śrāddha* rituals developed.

2. An introduction to *śrāddha*

Śrāddha is a rite of commemorating the ancestors, in which balls of rice called *piṇḍas* are offered. The sons and grandsons of the deceased attend the *śrāddha*, and three generations of the dead are believed to participate in the benefits of ceremony. Thus the dead and the living are linked together by these rites, which, like the ancestor worship of the Chinese, is a most potent force in consolidating the family (Basham 1959: 155-156). The rite, which is very popular among the Hindus, goes back to Vedic times.

According to the Hindus' belief a man is born in impurity and will die in impurity. According to the sacred law, a mourner must avoid close contact with outsiders for fear of carrying pollution; they must follow rigid dietary restrictions and sleep on the ground; they must not shave themselves or worship the gods. The funeral ceremony *antyeṣṭi* is the last of the many rites which mark the stages of a man's life. According to the tradition the corpse is carried to the burning ground as soon as possible after death, followed by the mourners, the eldest leading; it is cremated, to the accompaniment of sacred texts (Rigveda 10.6), the mourners circumambulate the pyre, not in the auspicious clockwise direction but anti-clockwise; then they take bath in the nearest river, tank or lake, and return home, this time led by the youngest. On the third day after the cremation the charred bones of the dead are gathered up and thrown into river (Basham 1959: 176-177).

For ten days after the cremation libations of water are poured for the dead, and *piṇḍa-dāna* (offerings of *piṇḍas*) are made for him. It is believed that on death a man's soul becomes a miserable ghost, a *preta*, unable to pass on to the world of the forefathers or to a new birth and liable to do harm to the surviving relatives. With the performance of

the *antyeṣṭi* rite on the tenth day it acquires a subtle body with which to continue its journey, speeded on its way and nourished in the after-life with the *piṇḍas* offered. With the tenth day, the mourners cease to be impure and resume their normal lives (Basham 1959: 177). This is how *antyeṣṭi* is usually performed in every house where someone has died.

3. Performance of *śrāddha-yajña* in Gayā

In Gayā various sacred rituals such as floral offerings, meditational exercise, oblation, libation and religious donation, all connected with the different sacred centres are performed, but the main sacred performance for which Gayā is famous in the Hindu world is the *Gayā-śrāddha*. The life of the person who performs *śrāddha* in Gayā is worthy and gratifying to his ancestors (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 3.17).

Gayā-śrāddha is somewhat different from other death-rituals as annual *śrāddha* and periodical *śrāddha*. Although there are many similarities among all the four types of ancestor worship, *Gayā-śrāddha* is different in that in this *śrāddha* the performer is not a mourner but a sacrificer (Vidyarthi 1971: 30).

People from all over India come to Gayā for *śrāddha* all year round but their favourite time is the dark fourth night of *āśvīna* (i.e. the seventh month in the Hindu calendar, approximately corresponding to September and October). This time is known as *pitṛ-pakṣa* and it is believed to be the proper time for the ritual.

In a *śrāddha-yajña*, *jala-tarpaṇa* (libation of water) and *piṇḍa-dāna* are performed. At first *jala-tarpaṇa* is performed in the name of gods who include Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa, Citragupta and Yama. After that libation is poured to the ancestors and ancestresses both from father's as well as mother's side. Sometimes libation is also made to the neighbours or such relatives whose souls are believed to create trouble for the sacrificer. The Hindus believe that water libation will quench the thirst of the ancestors. *Jala-tarpaṇa* is a long ritual that takes at least four or five hours. Next day the ritual of *piṇḍa-dāna* is performed which contains resolve such as *Gayātrī-mantra* (Rigveda 3.62.10), symbolic establishment of the union of ancestors and gods, *sapiṇḍī-karaṇa* (co-*piṇḍa*), worship and offerings of *piṇḍas* to crow. It is believed by the

Hindus that after the *piṇḍa-dāna* the ancestors will live happily with the gods. Some people release a cow in the name of the ancestors. They believe that the cow will help their ancestors cross the Vaitaraṇī, the river of hell. According to a Puranic hearsay, Vaitaraṇī is the river which floats between heaven and earth.

4. The mythological story of Gayāsura

The father of the Universe, Brahmā, was born from the lotus which had sprung from Viṣṇu's navel. With the permission of Viṣṇu he created the animated world. He set about his work of creation but he was not an expert and made several mistakes. He created *asuras* along with human beings, *yakṣas*, earth and all other components of the world.

Among the *asuras*, one *asura* named Gayāsura was very powerful and a great devotee of Viṣṇu. Once he performed formidable penance on Kolāhala mountain. His penance was so severe that the gods panicked. They felt that their existence was in danger. The horrified gods went under the shelter of Brahmā and asked him to protect them from Gayāsura. Brahmā suggested that they should go under the shelter of Śankara. The gods went to mount Kailāsa with Brahmā and humbly begged Śankara to protect them from Gayāsura. Śankara told them that for protection from Gayāsura they should go to Viṣṇu who was sleeping in *Kṣīra-sāgara* (Milk ocean); perhaps he would be able to help them. All of them went to Viṣṇu and pleased him with various prayers. Viṣṇu asked what the reason for their visit was. The gods replied in a pleading tone that it was to save them from Gayāsura. Then Viṣṇu and the others went to the place where Gayāsura was engaged in performing the penance. Viṣṇu told Gayāsura that he was pleased with the penance and inquired about his desire.

Gayāsura desired to make his body holier than Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa, the other gods and Brahmins, *yajña*, *homa* (offering), rivers and high mountains. After giving the desired boon to Gayāsura the gods returned to heaven. The consequence of this boon was terrific. Any mortal being who touched the body of Gayāsura became eligible for heaven. Thus heaven started filling with people. Seeing this Yama, Indra and others went to Brahmā and requested him to relieve them of the responsibility to take care of heavens.

Again Brahmā suggested that they should go to Viṣṇu for help and advice. They all went to Viṣṇu and said that due to the boon given to Gayāsura all the mortal beings were coming to heaven and other *lokas* (worlds) were becoming empty. Viṣṇu suggested that they should ask the body of Gayāsura from him in order to perform the sacrifice (*yajña*).

The gods together with Brahmā went to the habitation of Gayāsura. Gayāsura was happy to see them and asked what the purpose of their visit was. Brahmā asked for his body for the performance of *yajña*. Gayāsura willingly agreed to this. He lay down in the direction of north to south.

After that Brahmā selected important parts of his body for the oblation and created priests from his head. He arranged his body for sacrifice. After the oblation the gods and Brahmā were surprised to see the body of Gayāsura which was still alive and shaking on the altar. Brahmā told Yama to keep *dharmā-sīlās* (stones of religious rites) on his body. This did not stop the shaking of Gayāsura's body. Then Brahmā told Śiva and other gods to sit on the body of Gayāsura, but this did not stop the movement of the body either. Worried Brahmā went again to Viṣṇu for help. Viṣṇu created a figure (*mūrti*) from his body and gave it to Brahmā. Brahmā kept that figure on the body of Gayāsura but this did not work either. Finally, Viṣṇu himself sat down holding his *gada* (club) on the body of Gayāsura and thus made it inert.

Now Gayāsura asked the gods why they were giving him trouble. He would have become quiet if Viṣṇu would had told him so. He asked for mercy from the gods.

The gods became happy and asked Gayāsura for a boon. Gayāsura wished that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa and all the other gods would remain on his body till the earth, mountains, moon and stars are there. He also wished that this place would be named after him. All the rivers became holy. Those who take bath in the rivers of Gayā and perform the *antyeṣṭi* will go to heaven together with their ancestors. Even those who were suffering from sin of *brahmā-hatyā* (killing of a Brahmin) would find here shelter.

Viṣṇu said that all the wishes of Gayāsura would be fulfilled. Those who perform *pīṇḍa-dāna* and *śrāddha*-rituals here will go to heaven together with their ancestors. This was Viṣṇu's blessing to Gayāsura. (Story based on *Vāyu Purāṇā* 105: 112; 106: 65.)

5. Conclusion

The spread of western educational models, technological modernisation and a changing system of human values have certainly had an impact on the priorities of the people. The disintegration of joint families which has led to the tendency to pass one's responsibilities on to one's brother, the economic necessities as well as several other factors resulting from a changed life style, have made people more conscious of their own needs as opposed to the need to redeem their ancestors. This is testified to by the decreasing number of people coming to the performance of *śrāddha* in Gayā. Yet for many Hindus *Gayā-śrāddha* is a ritual of belief, hope and sentiments.

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Wind Goes to Bed

Felix Oinas (Bloomington)

Lennart Meri's essaistic work *Hõbevalge (The Silvery-White)* is very rich in Estonian historical and cultural material, including folklore. It contains a nature myth which goes as follows:

An Estonian nature myth, which stems from the time of sailing, recounts that the wind had once gotten lost. The spider found the wind sleeping above the world-sea, but the speedy fly brought this message to land and received the honor of being the wind's finder. Ever since that time the spider has taken revenge on the fly. (Meri 1976: 280)

The Estonian Folklore Archives in Tartu sent me three variants of the myth, two of them of Wind's sleeping and one of the disappearance of Death.¹ Those pertaining to Wind will be presented here.

According to the recording from Kambja (Johann Väggi 1896) the wind had lain down to rest and fallen asleep. "The lack of wind took a toll on all that moves and doesn't move, i. e. animals and trees." All the animals began looking for the wind. Finally the spider crossed the sea and found it sleeping next to a big rock. It pulled a web over the wind and awakened it. The wind was very angry and threatened to kill the spider. In the middle of the sea a fly met the spider who informed it of its finding. The fly flew back immediately and usurped the honor of finding the wind. This caused an eternal feud between the spider and the fly.

¹For sending me these materials I would like to express my sincere thanks to Professor Ülo Valk and Miss Astrid Tuisk.

The variant from Viljandi (Anton Suurkask 1898) is very similar to the preceding one; only the controversy between the spider and the fly has been treated more elaborately. Of the consequences of the wind's sleeping it is said that "because of this, all the animals and plants got into trouble and starved."

The tracing of this myth takes us first of all to the Ancient Hittites, in whose mythology the divinities who have left home play a central role. In the Old Hittite mythology in Anatolia, divinities alienated from their land and people, whom they normally protect, abandon their dwellings and go into hiding. The effect of their departure on people, other divinities, animals, nature, and plants is graphically described on several tablets, which have been partially destroyed (Hoffner 1990: 1-4).

The best preserved is the myth of Telipinus, the son of the storm god, whose name is of Hattian – non-Indo-European – origin. His task is taking care of agriculture, especially of grain. Telipinus gets angry (because of the damaged tablet it is not known why), becomes sullen and leaves, taking all life with him. His departure causes a complete catastrophe: fires in houses go out, barley and wheat do not grow, hills and trees dry up and animals do not give birth. Humans and gods are dying of hunger.

Small and great gods begin to search for Telipinus. The sun god sends out the eagle, but he does not find him. Then he himself goes, but with no result. Finally the mother of gods sends out the tiny bee. It searches the high mountains, it searches the deep valleys, and finds Telipinus in a meadow. The bee stings him and wakes him up. Telipinus is furious and begins to rampage. He thunders together with lightning and destroys houses. But he is successfully pacified by magic, promises of sacrifices and charms. He comes back, and life returns to normal (Hoffner 1990: 14-20; Burkert 1979: 123-129).

The Hittites tell the myth of the desertion and return also of several other gods, such as the storm god, several local storm gods, the sun god and others. They all appear in the function of promoting fertility and are found by the bee (Hoffner 1990: 20 ff.).

This myth of the gods served the purpose of the cult. According to Harry Hoffner, it constituted the focus of Hittite worship. Telipinus

and other fugitive gods were connected with the rite, the purpose of which was to lure the offended god back to his home.

The same myth appears also in ancient Greece in connection with Demeter, the goddess of agriculture and fertility. According to the Arcadian version, Demeter (Black Demeter), depressed by the kidnapping of her daughter Persephone and her own rape by Poseidon, hides in a cave. As a result, nothing grows and people die. None of the gods knows where she is. Finally Pan, the goat-footed Arcadian god, finds her in the cave and informs Zeus. Zeus immediately sends out *moirai*, the goddesses of fate. They succeed in pacifying her, and she returns, bringing with her the grain (Burkert 1979: 125 ff.).

In the Homeric hymn to Demeter, it is told that Demeter, grieving for the kidnaping of her daughter Persephone by Hades, she retires to her temple. She causes a dreadful famine that threatens the existence of mankind. Zeus sends Iris and then all the gods in turn to implore that she relent, but Demeter refuses. Only after Persephone returns, though only for a part of the year, does Demeter consent and make life return to the fields (Richardson 1974: 1-4).

The identity of the pattern of the myth of Demeter with Telipinus is evident. Note that the priestesses of Demeter are called "bees".

Relations of the Estonian nature myth are not exhausted by these examples. The song is also to be found among the Estonians' kindred peoples – the Finns (primarily Ingrians) and Karelians. They celebrated Fertility Day each year by performing the awakening song of *Sämpsä*, the personified fertility spirit (originally Ukko). Its purpose was to stimulate the growth of plants.²

This magnificent ritual song begins with the description of a

²On *Sämpsä* awakening song differing views have been advanced by the leading Finnish folklorists, beginning with Christfried Ganander and ending with Matti Kuusi and Kustaa Vilkuna. *Sämpsä* has been compared with several European fertility gods, such as Old Greek Dionysos, Latvian Jumis, Germanic Freyr and Nerthus, etc. Martti Haavio has considered it most plausible that the basis for *Sämpsä* awakening song is the international myth of the victory of summer over winter. Matti Kuusi sees an anacronism in it. According to him, it is an Ingrian and Karelian heathen ritual text, with which the novelties of the Christian poetical culture of the Middle Ages have been fused. Heikki Kirkinen and Kustaa Vilkuna identify *Sämpsä* with Sampson, a saint of the Russian Orthodox Church (Turunen 1979: 295).

catastrophe: oats and rye are not growing in the clearing, not springing in the hollow, not on Säm̄psä's hummock, not on Pellervoi's hill. It turns out that the reason for this is that Säm̄psä (Sampsä) is lying on his back in bed. The winter-boy rides on the wind-stallion to aroise Säm̄pä, but he refuses to get up because the winter-boy has harmed nature – has blown trees leafless, caused maids to lose their bloom, blown cabbages headless and turnips rootless. However, Säm̄psä accepts the invitation of the spring- or summer-boy, a lover of nature, who restores nature to its previous state (Kuusi 1963: 349-352; 1977: 256-261; 544-546).

Martti Haavio in his *Kuolematonten lehdot* (*The Groves of the Deathless* 1961: 51; 133) points out that a fragment of the Säm̄psä awakening song, recorded by Gottlund from Inkeri, has strayed into the tree charm (*sanat*): "I have sent for Säm̄psä from the island in the sea, from the islet untouched". Haavio refers to this island also in other charms. For instance, in the ointment charm the bee is urged to fly across the nine seas to the island untouched. He suggests that the Säm̄psä awakening song by Gottlund and the tree charm refer to a myth, according to which Säm̄psä was sojourning on an unfertile sea island, where they sent for him.

The data given by Haavio lead us to conclude that here is hidden an early version of the Säm̄psä song with the bee as the messenger to the fugitive.

Säm̄psä awakening song has another version in Ingria and Karelia. In it Säm̄psä has married his stepmother or has slept with his sister for which he has to flee to the dark *Pohjola* (North), where they go to call him back. This version is obviously secondary.

A version received from the Estonian Folklore Archives, collected in Kanepi (Carl Lipping 1895), tells of Death's disappearance, search and discovery. It testifies to the myth's spread outside the realm of fertility.

*

Comparing the versions of the myth in different countries presented above, we can conclude that all of them have the same structure: the

desertion of a divinity or the wind from his home, which causes a catastrophe in nature, which is followed by a search for the deserter and his discovery. All the deserters, except for Demeter, are sleeping. They are very angry when awakened, but go or promise to go home. Thus, catastrophe is ended, and life, stopped temporarily, is restored.

The finders and awakeners vary in the myth, but special note must be taken of the bee among the Hittites, the Ingrians, and the deceitful fly among the Estonians. These insects constitute an ideal pair by their rapid flight and painful sting and bite.

We might well ask why such a great task has been entrusted to these tiny insects, the bee and the fly. There is a general tendency in folklore to elevate the small and the insignificant to heroic status. Since nothing is expected of them, their amazing deeds thrill and enthrall us.

The insects and birds who perform such great feats must have the necessary attributes. As they both have wings and the bee has a stinger and the fly has a proboscis, so the woodpecker in the West African proverb and tale has a long beak with which it pecks a hole in the tree from which the first people emerge (Kuusi 1994: 161-166). Since the spider in the Estonian myth lacks the necessary attribute, it must be a later addition.

How to explain the structural identity of the versions of the myth?

The identity is most likely caused by borrowing. The myth may have been created by the Hittites in Old Anatolia, who attributed the escape to several divinities. From them it went, on the one hand, probably by way of intermediaries, Hurrians and Phoenicians, to Old Greece and, on the other, to Caucasus. It can be assumed that the myth arrived from Caucasus to East Europe before the invasion of the Indo-Europeans from the north. Later on, it spread from East Europe to northwest, to Estonians and Finns-Karelians.

East Europe has been the way by which a number of myth-poems from the direction of the high cultures of the East have passed to the north. Such are the Finnish and Karelian mythical poems of the egg from which the universe is created, the transformation of the sea-bed, the great oak, the great ox, the great pike, Lemminkäinen's trip to Pohjala, his death and resurrection, and some others (Kuusi 1994: 51; Oinas 1987: 325-345).

Among the Mordvins and Byelorussians a song has been recorded which is reminiscent of the myth of the fertility god's departure and return.

The Mordvin song (originated in Russia) tells that Vere-pas (upper or heaven god) has arranged a feast in a field under a tree. All the gods and saints have been invited and have come, but Norov-ava (the fertility goddess) has not come. God sends Mikola (St. Nicholas) to look for her. He finds Norov-ava in a wheat field on a boundary strip. She refuses to come, but the saint nevertheless brings her back. In Moksha-Mordvin, Christmas and Easter are looking for Mikola. However, the saint cannot come, since he is busy helping others.

As can be seen, the Mordvin song has been influenced secondarily by the Russian Orthodox Church, whose saints have been added to the genuine Mordvin divinities, as observed by Victor Kõressaar.

In Byelo-Russia this song is performed as a *kolyada*, the ritual song for wishing good luck for Easter. St. Mikola or some other saint does not show up for the feast. St. George goes to invite him and finds him walking in a field and taking care of the growth of grain, which belongs to the tasks of the saints (Oinas 1993: 130-132).

It is essential that the East European song of the gods' feast has a counterpart also among the Hittites. The Telipinus myth includes the remark: "The great sun god made a feast and invited a thousand gods."

On the other hand, the Russian elements in the Sämpsä awakening song are noteworthy. The name of the Finnish fertility spirit, Sämpsä (Sampsa) has been created after Sampson, a saint of the Russian Orthodox Church. The version of the Sämpsä song by Gottlund (see before), which is close to the Telipinus myth, must have arrived via Russia. The winter-boy and the spring- or summer-boy, found in a later Finnish version of this song, have their correspondences in the Mordvin (< Russian) Christmas and Easter. Thus there is hardly any doubt that it is East Europe that is the prime intermediary of the myth. It can be assumed that there existed in East Europe songs still closer to the Hittite and the Estonian-Karelian-Finnish myth, which have not been recorded or have disappeared without a trace.

Finally, some remarks on this myth's background.

The basis for the myth is the agrarian-religious beliefs of the animated grain. For instance, the Votyaks (Udmurts) in Central Russia

imagined the grain soul as a white butterfly. If the field did not yield a good harvest, they believed that the grain soul had disappeared. A "seer" went to search for it in a ceremony which was called "the search for the grain soul". When the grain soul was found in the forest or field in the shape of a white butterfly, it was carefully wrapped in a white kerchief, brought back to the field and let loose. The people were now convinced that the field soul would give the desired yield (Paulson 1962: 215).

The Votyak belief can be used as the key for understanding our myth. The divinities who left their land were without exception connected with fertility. The wind, too, can be included in this group, since the plant's pollination, precipitation, etc. depends on it. As the life on earth depends on fertility, the changes in the harvest were followed with great interest. When the yield began to decrease, it was attributed to the departure of the fertility god, the personified grain soul. In the people's mythical imagination crop failure assumed gigantic proportions. An intensive search was undertaken for the fugitive, which ended with his discovery and return. It can be assumed that it was such ideas that laid the foundation for the creation of the myth under discussion and for its transmission.

The myth has arrived in Estonia from the southeastern corner, since it is found only in South Estonia. The culturally strange fertility god or saint was replaced by wind. As we have seen, the Estonian nature myth has a few renowned predecessors and relations.

Lennart Meri's text is close to the recordings in Kambja and Viljandi. But it has a detail that differs from both of them: the wind's sleeping "above the world-sea". If this is authentic, Meri's text would come from another place and would testify to the myth's preservation up to the present day.

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This book contains 19 articles on different aspects of folktales and mythology, popular religion, history of folkloristics, discussions of field-work materials from Africa, Estonia, India, Karelia and Siberia and on several other topics, handled by folklorists representing nine countries. Most of the papers were delivered in Tartu in October 1995 at the symposium *Walter Anderson and Folklore Studies Today* celebrating the 110th anniversary of this distinguished scholar, the former Professor of Folklore at the University of Tartu.

ISBN 9985-60-271-4

ISSN 1406-1090